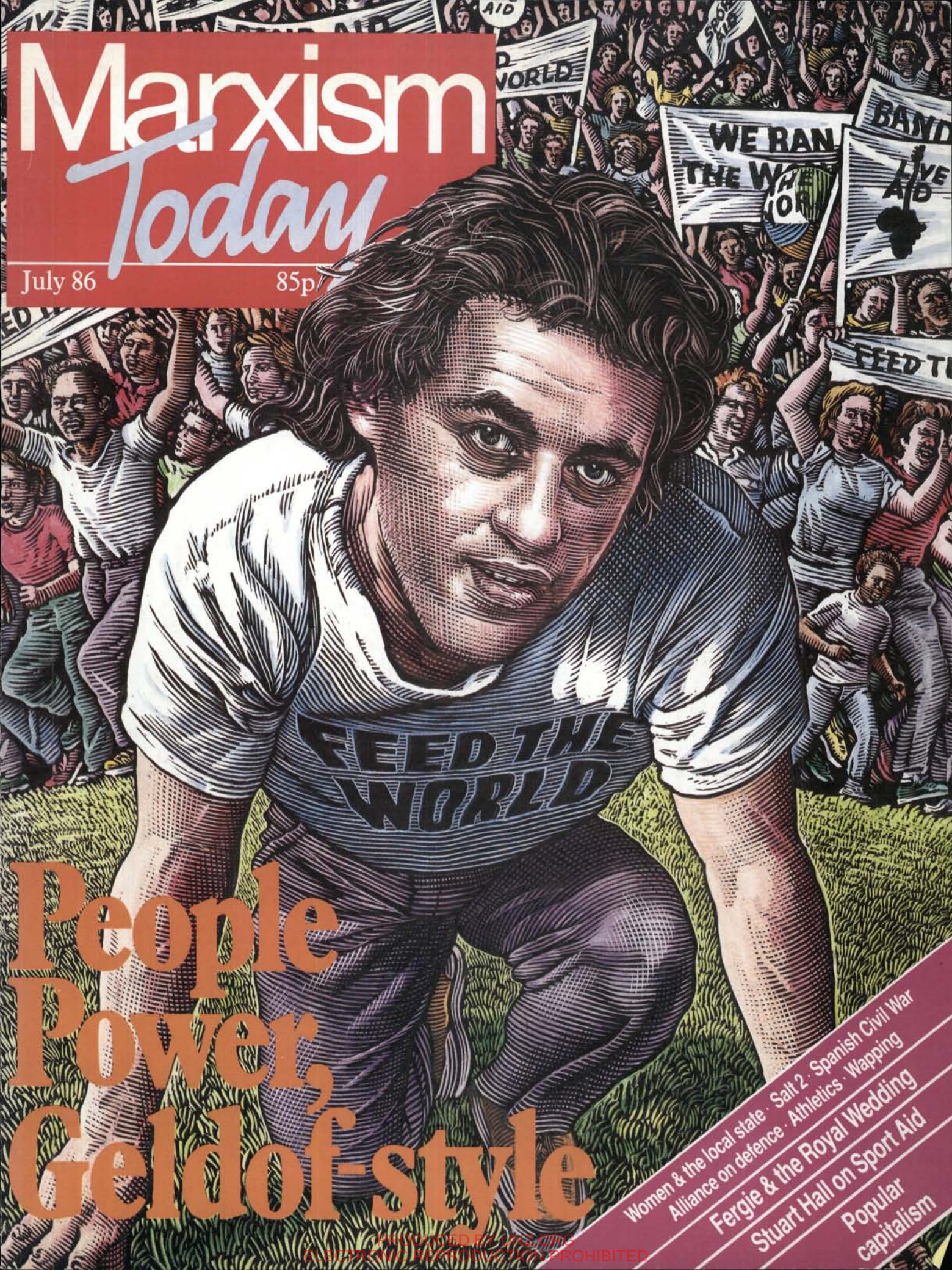

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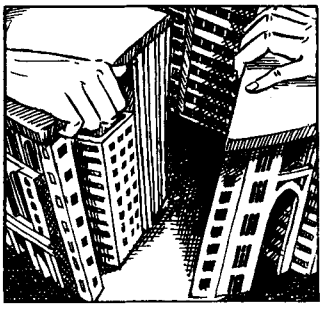

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focus

South Africa's blacks have displayed remarkable courage in the struggle against the apartheid regime. The cost has already been high – but what of the future?

The last trek?

June 16, 1986 will go down in South Africa's history as the day Europe wrangled about how to seem to be hurting the apartheid regime without actually doing it – while the black townships burnt.

South Africa on that day lived under the shadow of its toughest state of emergency yet, a situation likely to last to its bitter end. Both phrases are peculiar to South African politics. An 'emergency' has in fact existed for decades, despite the smooth image of stability so successfully presented – and it was people calling themselves 'bitter-enders', hard-core Afrikaners, who had refused to accept the 1902 Boer war defeat, determined to wrest victory from the hated English.

They did – in the 1948 elections, from which they created what they and the world came to know as 'apartheid', a racial social and economic system for the benefit of 'whites only' – and the 'English' (english-speaking South Africans) accepted it, just as the West became partners of a system they claim to abhor.

Ten years ago it was schoolchildren who triggered off a revolt against that system. Some 15,000 children set off on a peaceful demonstration in the then unknown Johannesburg dormitory town of Soweto (South Western Townships) to show their objection to their second-class education. They were met by police bullets – and the sullen urban ghettoes erupted.

June 16, 1976 shook the world. In 1960, in another 'location', Sharpeville near Vereeniging, another industrial Transvaal town, a similar round of police bullets had killed 69 people who with millions of others had protested against the humiliation of the pass laws. Apartheid made world headlines for the first time.

But the world's horror, white opposition, black bravery was met with brutality. A state of emergency was declared then as now. Thousands were arrested, black parties banned, new security laws introduced, many white liberals emigrated and capital temporarily fled.

An uneasy calm followed, broken by strikes in the early 70s which in turn led to some reforms in labour relations. But the conflagrations of 1960 and 1976 were simply open manifestations of the reality – South Africa's permanent state of instability and the endemic explosive nature of its social system.

The so-called Botha-led reforms which resulted in a complex new constitution in 1983, introduced in the following year, finally exploded the myth of stability. Since the pomp and ceremony of September 1984 which had taken place against 'township unrest', South Africa has never been out of the headlines and death never out of the township streets.

President Pieter Willem Botha, umpiring an uneasy match between white hardliners and 'moderates', continued to tinker with social engineering. But the time had long passed when the abolition of pass laws – as happened during May this year – opening restaurant doors to all-comers or adding another body to a three-tier parliamentary structure had any meaning for the black majority.

They wanted apartheid dead – in every sense of the word. They had proved they would die in the attempt. Some 1,500 people have been killed in the 22 months since September 1984: by police/army action, by township – and indeed rural – Africans turning on puppets and collaborators of the system, by vigilantes paid and incited by the authorities.

Whites too have died – two (and an Indian) on the eve of the anniversary of bloody June 16, when a car bomb exploded on a Durban beachfront. This was a new phenomenon, with the liberation movement, the African National Congress, previously careful to strike at military targets.

Ahead of June 16, Botha placed two laws before his parliament – one to indemnify the security forces against any action taken 'in good faith' to quell unrest – the other giving wide powers to the police to detain anyone indefinitely without recourse to the courts.

The laws were to have been passed in good time to allow security measures against threatened demonstrations and a general strike to mark the day. For the first time, however, the tame 'coloured' and Indian parliaments refused to rubberstamp the laws. They will be passed in due course, there are constitutional provisions for that, the whites being in overall control. But Botha had to pass a state of emergency at midnight of June 11.

At dawn, 1,000 people had been detained and a further 2,000 are rumoured to have been detained since then. As for June 16, the day the European foreign ministers agonised over sanctions and referred the whole issue to a useful committee to mull over, millions of Africans went on strike and fear gripped South African whites.

Under the state of emergency the media is muzzled. It is an offence to report on anything, from 'subversive' statements to security forces' actions. South Africa has always believed in killing the messenger. Now they also want to kill the message.

The reason is simple. Odd though it may sound, Pretoria believes that the 'riots' in the labour reservoirs they call 'homelands', in the urban slums, are caused by 'communist agitators'. Once these have been removed, peace will return. The 'rioters' it is believed were incited by the media who gave them overseas coverage.

This seeming logic was not defeated by the fact that during the 1985/6 state of emergency when the media was also kept out of riot-torn areas the death toll continued to rise.

The problem with faith – and belief in racial supremacy is faith – is that it defies logic or reason. Pretoria and its frightened

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4½ million white citizens are now contemplating 'going it alone', in the face of whatever 'measures' the outside world may try or the desperate 24 million 'non-whites', so-called, will do. For the 'bitter-enders' it could mean the last trek.

Bloodshed is nothing new in South Africa. Bloodshed on the scale to come may be.

Ruth Weiss

Wapping warriors

Sun journalists make unlikely labour movement heroes. But, for one brief and glorious day in early June, that is the role they occupied after they voted, by a tiny majority and against all expectations, not to continue working at Rupert Murdoch's fortress-like newspaper factory at Wapping. Their rebellion was promptly squashed by the personal intervention of Murdoch, who offered the beleaguered journalists a pay rise of 10% and other palliatives, including a swimming pool and gymnasium, to ease the pain of working behind the barbed wire. Most accepted, leaving a tiny handful of malcontents to join the ranks of the 'Wapniks' – News International journalists who obeyed their union's instruction and refused to cross the picket lines that surround Wapping.

But the significance of the vote will outlast the resolve of those who cast it. *Sun* journalists were originally among the most enthusiastic supporters of the move away from Murdoch's old newspaper plants in central London. Their recent brief change of heart came after three months of bitter conflict outside the new workplace, and will be seen by some as a vindication of the strategy pursued by the militant London members of the print unions centrally involved in the dispute, the NGA and Sogat.

By the beginning of June, that strategy seemed to be in disarray. Heavy picketing around Wapping had not halted a single issue of Murdoch's four titles, the *Sun*, the *Sunday Times*, *The Times* and the *News of the World*. Instead, it appeared to be diverting attention away from the real grievances behind the dispute – the dismissal of 5,500 staff without compensation, and the banishing of the NGA and Sogat from Murdoch's newspaper empire – and on to the issue of picket line violence and the police. Appeals for solidarity to other trade unionists were being ignored, with even Sogat members flouting their union's instruction and distributing Murdoch titles outside London. And the campaign to persuade the public to boycott the four papers was bringing little success – the *Sunday Times* continued its long-term decline in sales, while the other titles were remarkably buoyant, at least on management figures.

It was the failure of the unions to make any progress on their central demands – reinstatement of sacked members and recognition at Wapping – which fuelled expectations that News International's 'final' offer of £50 million in compensation plus the old Gray's Inn Road plant would be accepted, at least by the major union involved, Sogat. Indeed, the offer had the tacit support of Brenda Dean, Sogat's general secretary, who was emphatic that no more could be squeezed out of the union.

Her striking members disagreed. By a convincing majority they voted to reject the offer, spurning the money and restating the key demands in the dispute in a display of militancy that took most observers by surprise, not least Dean. The rejection of the package coincided with mounting criticism of her leadership from sections of the London membership, particularly her less than enthusiastic support for mass picketing and her decision to obey the courts and lift the union instruction not to handle News International titles.

An uneasy peace was restored within the union at its conference in Scarborough a week later, with Dean recognising the militancy of her London members and reaffirming her commitment to jobs and recognition at Wapping.

But there was little sign of a new strategy capable of translating that commitment into reality. The union leadership has made it clear that it does not believe mass picketing can force a solution. And it wishes to avoid risking further sequestration of its funds by issuing instructions not to handle News International titles which its members will simply ignore. Other groups of workers, such as the TGWU lorry drivers central to News International's distribution network, are no more likely than before to obey orders not to cross picket lines. The electricians working inside Wapping could still play a key role in ending the dispute, but they may prove reluctant to abandon the high wages they have grown accustomed to in response to appeals from the TUC, or even instructions from the EETPU.

And, while Dean has courted public opinion with great skill and has won much sympathy for her sacked members, she faces a difficult task trying to persuade *Sun* and *Times* readers, no great lovers of the print unions or indeeed any other unions, to boycott their newspapers.

So it's back to the unhappy Wapping journalists, who now hold one of the keys to the dispute. As new technology is ushered into the newspaper industry, journalists are inheriting the jobs of print union members – the pickets at Wapping must now be hoping that they also inherit some of the traditional Fleet Street militancy if defeat is to be averted.

The spark of resistance at the *Sun* may have been snuffed out, but it did suggest that the picketing was at last having some effect. Journalists at *The Times* and *Sunday Times*, proud of their reputation for independence and integrity, have never been comfortable in the role of Murdoch's stooges in his battle with the unions. Their discomfort is greatly increased by the constant taunts of

The Wapping dispute has seen big mobilisations of police and many bitter clashes. Here police clear pickets from Glamis Road.

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focus

the pickets, and by the humiliation of working under the protection of razor wire, security guards and the police. Many have left already for new jobs, while proprietors with ambitions to start new titles are hovering like vultures over Wapping in search of talent. It is hard to see the reputations of *The Times* and *Sunday Times* surviving indefinitely a haemorrhage of their best writers, notwithstanding the damage that a stoppage by the journalists might cause.

So the picket line might yet prove a formidable weapon in the armoury of the unions, unless Murdoch can curb its impact through legal action. It has not encouraged a spirit of solidarity with the print unions among the Wapping journalists, who have displayed little sympathy for their sacked former workmates. Rather it has worked mainly through guilt and fear. But it may yet precipitate a crisis inside Wapping that forces Murdoch back to the negotiating table. Otherwise the prospect of defeat at Wapping looms large.

Who knows? Maybe the *Sun* journalists will soon get fed up splashing about in their swimming pool and find that life inside Wapping is not worth even their newly-bloated salaries.

Paul Webster

False Claims

Promotion by the pharmaceutical industry dominates the prescribing habits of doctors and so essentially determines the medicines that patients receive. The main target for such promotion is the prescribing doctor who each month receives kilos of unsolicited advertising through the post and is confronted by pages of advertising in medical journals. An obvious aim of such promotion is to persuade the doctor to prescribe the manufacturer's products.

However in addition to capturing a share of the market (this year the NHS will spend about £1.5 billion on prescribed medicines), promotion also strives to increase the size of the market by encouraging an environment in which there is a greater reliance of society on medicines for normal life (half of the healthy adults in the UK take some sort of medicine every week).

To these ends industry spends about £180m each year, an amount only just short of its annual expenditure on research. Presumably in an attempt to counter possible abuse by the industry with consequent dangers to patients, legislation was introduced to control advertising. Unfortunately however, implementation of these regulations has been lax and patients may well have suffered as a result.

Legislation, as it applies to the advertising of medicines to doctors, is contained in the Medicines Act (1968) and the Medicines (Advertising to Medical and Dental Practitioners) Regulations (1978 SI 1020). The provisions of this legislation include that advertising should not be misleading and that claims made should reflect available evidence.

The regulations clearly indicate what government requires of the pharmaceutical industry and yet breaches of them are common place. In a study reported to the British Pharmacological Society in 1984 by a member of the Department of Health, over half of the full page advertisements published in the previous year had breached the regulations in some way or other.

In most instances the breaches are minor and consist, for example, of a failure to give a correct reference or include the non-proprietary name. These the industry dismisses as 'legal technicalities' and of no significance. Others see minor breaches as a symptom of a widespread and sinister disregard for the regulations.

Without such disregard how could an advertisement appear, such as that for the cardiac drug *amiodarone,* which claimed that the drug was essentially devoid of side effects at a time when the Committee on Safety of Medicines and articles in the *British Medical Journal* and *Lancet* were all advising that the drug's side effects were such that it should be given only with special care and probably best by a specialist? How could an advertisement for the antibiotic *keflex* be published which falsely implied that the drug did not cause rashes?

In most instances, but not all, some indication of the misleading nature of such claims can be obtained by scrutinising the warnings, precautions and side effects printed at the bottom of the advertisement. Unfortunately however, the printing of such information is often illegible and so the claims may go unquestioned. In a study of the advertisement for *xanax,* six out of 18 doctors were unable to read the small print unaided, and the 12 who did manage claimed that they would not have persevered in other circumstances, only continuing as they did for the sake of the investigation. There is no legal definition of 'legibility' and one assumes that in a court of law it would be dependent upon whether it could be read by the judge. His findings might be rather different from that given by the youthful graphic designer in the company's advertising department.

So why the failure? During its 18 years' existence there have been only four prosecutions for breaches of the Medicines Act as it relates to advertising. All have been brought by the Department of Health and in each instance the plaintiff was an individual working alone and making false claims for a product sold on a small scale. Despite the numerous breaches, and despite the statutory requirement for ministers to ensure adherence to the Act, it would appear that the Department of Health has not been prepared nor willing to confront the larger companies.

The Department has instead elected to leave the control of advertising to the industry's own code of practice committee, and has abrogated its responsibility to such an extent that since 1979 the committee has rejected over half the complaints referred to it by the Department itself.

Control, therefore, is left to a code of practice committee which acts under the auspices of the industry, has members selected by the industry, is run for and on behalf of the industry, uses a code independent of the law, has no enforceable sanctions, has no legal status and has no public accountability. Indeed many assume that the primary role of the committee is to shield the industry from the public scrutiny of the law courts.

Furthermore, until recently the committee has only considered advertisements once they had been published and then usually only those that had been brought to its attention by outside agencies. It therefore had no capacity to prevent misleading advertisements appearing in the first instance.

Accordingly, in general, by the time it has deliberated (which takes several months) the company's campaign will have achieved its ends, and possibly patients will have suffered. Furthermore, breaches of the law will escape prosecution, doctors are unlikely to learn of the nature of the false claim, and patients will certainly have no chance of recompense.

It is difficult to see how ministers can justify either their continued abrogation of responsibility to a body that has manifestly failed to adequately control advertising. Where legislation exists perhaps the situation will be improved once the Department successfully prosecutes a major company together with its senior member(s) for publishing a misleading advertisement.

Joe Collier

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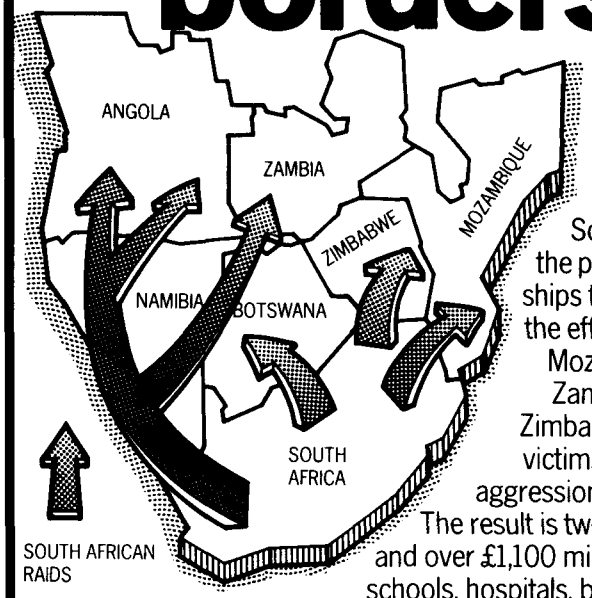

This month marks the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Since Soweto it's not only the people of the townships that have suffered the effects of apartheid. Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe have all been victims of South African aggression.

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focus

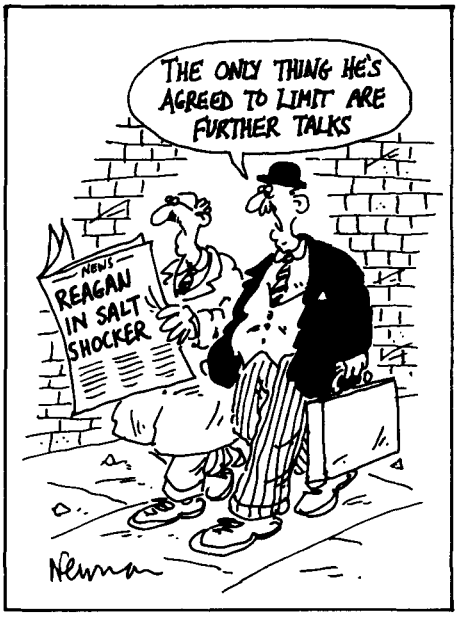
SALT 2

At the end of May, Reagan signalled a major change in US arms control policy when he announced that – barring a radical change in Soviet behaviour – the US would no longer be bound by the SALT 2 limits on strategic arms agreed with the Soviet Union in 1979. Reagan's case for abandoning SALT 2 is based on allegations of Soviet violations of arms control treaties, but it is US rather than Soviet policy that is behind the death of SALT 2.

The SALT 2 treaty put limits on the strategic (long-range) missiles and bombers of each superpower. It formally expired at the end of 1985 and was never ratified by the US, but both sides informally pledged observance of it as long as the other side did so too. In effect, the SALT agreements of the 1970s (SALT 1 was signed in 1972) codified the strategic 'parity' of the two superpowers after years of formally unchallenged US superiority. It is this tacit political recognition of the need to compromise with the Soviet Union that is being buried with SALT 2.

The reasons for Reagan's current stand on SALT 2 lie largely in US domestic policy. Reagan is under pressure from the Right to revive the days of US global superiority, and to unfetter the US from agreements that compromise its ability to act independently. However, he is also under pressure to pay at least lip-service to the goal of 'significant, equitable and verifiable' arms control agreements in future. So in public, the case for abandoning SALT 2 has been based on a negative picture of Soviet behaviour.

Reagan has signed three reports in the last two years that list Soviet breaches of major arms control agreements, and Soviet treaty violation has become a matter of popular belief. The latest report, signed in December



1985, was heavily influenced by a report submitted in November by Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. This report, written under the eye of key hawk Richard Perle, went so far as to assert that the Soviet Union has a 'policy of treaty violation'.

Several Soviet systems do raise questions of compliance, but not to the extent that questioning the entire Soviet commitment to arms control is justified. The central allegations in Reagan's recent statements concern the SS-25 strategic missile and the radar under construction near Krasnoyarsk. But US intelligence about the disputed characteristics of the SS-25 (that would classify it as a new type of strategic missile rather than modernisation of a previous model) was admitted as recently as 1984 to be 'somewhat ambiguous'. Such ambiguity is typical of US 'verification' of Soviet behaviour.

Even the Krasnoyarsk radar, while almost indisputably in technical breach of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, does not seriously undermine the main purpose of the treaty, which was to prevent either superpower from acquiring an extensive ABM capability. It is widely accepted – even by the CIA – that the Krasnoyarsk radar is not well placed to act as an ABM radar and is probably designed for early warning instead.

There is in fact a forum, the Standing Consultative Commission, that was set up by SALT 1 specifically for discussing treaty disputes. It has in the past satisfactorily resolved all the issues brought before it – including the US radar at Thule in Greenland, which had a similar position in relation to the ABM treaty (part of SALT 1) as the Krasnoyarsk radar. The commission's role has been downgraded by the Reagan administration, but this reflects US rather than Soviet disregard for SALT 2.

Indeed, if either superpower currently has an interest in preserving the existing arms control framework it is the Soviet Union. For several years a major US strategic build-up (MX, air-launched cruise missiles, ballistic missile submarines etc,) has strained at the seams of SALT 2, and the chief constraint has now been lifted. The US Strategic Defence Initiative ('Star Wars') programme is still more threatening, as it undermines – at least on paper – the Soviet Union's ability to threaten the US. US officials have made it clear that they will not allow the ABM treaty to prevent Star Wars from going beyond the 'research' phase if that is considered to be in US interests.

In the near term a large Soviet strategic build-up in response to Reagan's moves on SALT 2 and the Star Wars programme is unlikely. The Soviet hawks will be strengthened, but at present the Soviet Union is investing in radical arms control proposals rather than threats to retaliate. The recent offer of deep cuts in strategic forces in return for continued adherence to the ABM treaty

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THE TRUTH BEHIND THE BARBED WIRE

Murdoch's Millions

Rupert Murdoch made £47 million profit last year from his British papers. That's £900,000 a week.

But he wants even more to spend on his TV stations in the USA.

While the unions were still talking to him Murdoch was planning to move to Wapping without his employees. So he engineered a strike six months in advance. In a letter dated December 20th 1985 his solicitors advised him that *"the cheapest way of dispensing with his current workforce would be to dismiss them while participating in a strike or other industrial action".*

5,500 Sacked without compensation

Despite the unions following the law to the letter by holding a secret ballot, Murdoch callously took his solicitors' advice. **He sacked his 5,500 employees and didn't pay a penny of redundancy money.**

Journalist **Eric Butler** worked for the SUN for more than 16 years. All he got from Murdoch was a letter beginning *"Dear Sir or Madam"* telling him he was sacked.

Eileen Lindsay, a punch card operator at the Sunday Times for 8 years, says *"Life has certainly been tough since Murdoch sacked us. I have two young children to keep, and I just about managed when I was working."*

Martin Green, a printing press engineer says *"We had already agreed to move to Wapping but Murdoch forced us into striking so he could sack us. I've never been on strike before in my life. I worked for Murdoch for 16 years."*

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focus

cannot be dismissed as purely a propaganda exercise. It reflects real anxiety about the political and economic implications of mounting a large-scale military response.

The SALT 2 decision raises special problems for NATO governments. As with Star Wars, it reinforces popular perceptions that the US calls the tune in relations with the Soviet Union. The obvious US disregard for SALT 2 also undermines the credibility of multilateralism as the basis for the arms control policy of the NATO allies – especially in the area of nuclear arms control, where progress rests ultimately on US-Soviet agreement.

Strong objections to the US position were voiced, though not stated in the final communique, at the recent meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Halifax. The interesting question is how far the apparent dedication to arms control will be taken. Allied support for the existing arms control framework is fundamentally conservative – protest was loud and fast when the US itself mooted arms control proposals affecting British and French forces early this year. Besides, the NATO allies have no real power over the US.

The most likely result is reluctant accommodation to the new US policy. Thatcher has already conceded as far as stressing that British support for SALT 2 depends on Soviet as well as US compliance. A possible source of effective restraint is the US Congress, where clear majorities in both houses oppose the abrogation of SALT 2. But otherwise the prognosis for arms control and East-West relations is bleak.

Sheena Phillips

Africa and Aid

The press took due note of Sport Aid but gave scanty coverage to the UN special session on Africa which followed at the end of May.

There is of course nothing new or newsworthy about international meetings and reports on the problems of the Third World. The special session on Africa was itself the culmination of six years of such activity, from the Lagos 'Plan of Action' of 1980 and the World Bank Berg Report of 1981 on Sub-Saharan Africa to the Organisation of African Unity's 'Priority Programme for Economic Recovery' of 1985.

There is nothing new either in the failure of such grandiose plans to achieve their goals. Given the small chance of success and the guesswork involved in the calculations, the detailed figures of the African Recovery Programme now under discussion need not concern us too much here. The talk is of $128bn development expenditure over five years with two-thirds of that to be raised within Africa, leaving $9bn per annum to come from external aid.

Taking into account known and foreseen aid commitments, a gap of around $2.5bn per annum remains to be raised as additional aid. Compared with earlier exercises, even leaving aside dramatic calculations like those of the Brandt Report, this seems modest – the UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries of 1981 and the Berg Report both suggested a doubling of aid.

The visual evidence of African crisis has certainly given a push in the right direction. Last year 30 million people were affected by drought and famine with 10 million of them left homeless. This year the rains have come, oil is cheaper and prospects somewhat brighter. The chronic problems, however, remain. Poverty, not drought, causes hunger. Africa's average income per head is lower than it was 15 years ago. With population growing at 3% per annum and backward agriculture failing to keep pace, food imports were already rising at 8% in the 1970s.

In the 1980s, with growing foreign trade deficits and net foreign exchange inflows (foreign investment, bank lending and aid) falling by a quarter between 1980 and 1984, investment in productive activities has been declining and the debt burden rising. The ratio of foreign debt service payments to export earnings of Sub-Saharan Africa rose from 10% to 32% between 1980 and 1985 and there were 32 re-schedulings of debt over a three-year period.

Third World and UN bodies have always laid much blame on external factors. Given Africa's dependence on primary product exports and on imports of industrial goods, attention has been concentrated on those periods when the relative prices of the two move to Africa's disadvantage. Between 1977 and 1985 the terms of trade of Sub-Saharan Africa worsened by 20%.

Stress is also laid on the outflow of remittances of profits, dividends and interest by multinational companies, and the large fraction of the external sale price of primary products going into the hands of foreign companies. The colonial legacy is blamed for the lop-sided economic structures. The more radical voices have asserted that Africa cannot develop so long as the link with the capitalist West is maintained.

From the World Bank and orthodox economists comes a very different story, in which the blame is ascribed to internal factors: bloated bureaucracies, inefficient state enterprise, incompetent economic management, over-valued exchange rates handicapping exports, neglect of agriculture, low prices for farmers' output, wasteful use of aid, too much priority for overprotected urban-based industry. The message is establish realistic exchange rates, give incentive prices to farmers, let the free market work, cut down on state spending.

Neither side is particularly anxious to stress the human-made aspects of ecological damage (desertification etc,): the resources wasted on the elites, the inequalities of income and wealth, the terrible costs of war, repression and military rule. Governments are always polite to governments.

The UN special session, in this context, broke new ground in accepting some of the World Bank's strictures. Some 90% of the funds are planned to be used for agriculture and agricultural related sectors. And a significant number of African countries are already following the Bank's prescription to privatise.

Change is occurring in the Third World. Since independence there has been a vast growth of state apparatuses and state directed economic activity. As is the case elsewhere, the state has run into its own forms of crisis – bureaucracy, inefficiency, corruption, fostering of elites, repression, war. Comprehensive development planning and socialist rhetoric are no longer so popular. But unlike Mrs Thatcher's Britain there may actually be a capitalist tiger in the tank. Certainly the 'four little tigers' of South East Asia (Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Thailand) are the great hopes of conservative ideologues everywhere. Indigenous capitalist development is occurring in the Third World, though not everywhere at the same speed or with anything like the same success.

No more than in the UK can the tiger be released by abruptly denying resources to the state sector. To make the task politically feasible, time and cash is needed to facilitate the necessary 'structural adjustment'.

Reagan and Thatcher are most unlikely to make the necessary response. They are more likely to offer lectures than cash. Britain is bottom of the league in terms of percentage changes in aid given since 1979 (it has fallen substantially in real terms). Some countries may switch aid from other parts of the world to Africa. But a way out of the African crisis still seems as far away as ever.

Phil Leeson

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PEOPLE AID

A new politics sweeps the land

Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques

First Band Aid. Then came Live Aid. Now we've had Sport Aid. Geldof and co have captured the imagination of the nation. A new political agenda has been forged.

photos: Mary Mackay/Sport Aid

Omar Khalifi, the Sudanese athlete, was the central figure in SportAid.

POLITICS IS certainly unpredictable. Who would ever have thought of Bob Geldof – a Boomtown Rat who had seen better days – as one of the key political actors of Thatcherite Britain. More to the point, who would have guessed, in 1979, or even perhaps 1983, that the plight of the Third World would become one of the great *popular* movements of our time?

The triumph of Thatcherism represented the triumph of an ideology of selfishness and scapegoats. National failure was believed to be the result of individual profligacy. The road to salvation lay through people pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. The only acceptable motive for action was self-interest. What the unemployed needed was not handouts but initiative. In this view of the world, there was little sympathy for the casualties of the crisis at home, and no concern at all for less fortunate nations. People – and countries – were expected to put their own houses in order.

For some months now a sort of running battle has been going on between this creed of selfishness and the attempt to put together a broad, alternative vision, around the notion of a 'caring society'. Some of the recent turning-points in the fortunes of Thatcherism are related to this struggle to polarise the field of social ideologies. Now, with the rise of the BandAid/LiveAid/SportAid phenomenon, the ideology of selfishness – and thus one of the main ideological underpinnings of Thatcherism – has been dealt a further, severe blow.

The erosion of Thatcherism's influence

Thatcherism arose partly as a way of thinking about recession. Its account of recession is, however, one-sided. Recession is not only about tightening belts. It is also about structural change and who is to carry the costs. It is about change and its consequences: within industry, as between declining and emergent technologies and communities of skill; within countries, as between the rise of some regions and the decline of others; and, internationally, in terms of the re-ordering of relationships within and between the so-called 'three worlds'. It is precisely these structural aspects of recession which have assumed increasing political importance.

the triumph of Thatcherism represented the triumph of an ideology of selfishness and scapegoats

The first, structural industrial change, is a growing area of political conflict, of which the miners' strike, Wapping and the shift of the tide against Thatcherism on unemployment and the unemployed are all manifestations. The most obvious expression of the second is the growing division between the declining north and the more prosperous south. So far as the third strand is concerned, though the reassertion of US power under Reagan has stimulated a flowering of the peace movement, the questions of Third World poverty, underdevelopment and the vicious circle of debt have stubbornly refused to assume a popular political character. However, the groundswell of political resistance in South Africa coupled with the rise of the 'famine movement' has begun to turn the tide here, too.

Thatcherism's account of recession – and, with it, a certain Thatcherite vision of the world order and Britain's role in it – has taken a drubbing. Selfishness and greed have been, if not eclipsed, then to some

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extent displaced by altruism and conscience.

BandAid/LiveAid/SportAid encapsulates this shift more dramatically than anything else. One effect of a Thatcherite-dominated recession was to reinforce a narrow nationalism, helping to breed a reactionary mood of 'Little Englandism' and to nourish the roots of popular racism. A lifting of the popular horizons beyond our own shores, beyond even the boundaries of Europe, to Africa thus represents a crucial turning point in the erosion of Thatcherite hegemony.

Reaching the unreached

The political significance and power of the 'famine movement' was enhanced rather than weakened by its origin and authorship. It came from *outside* the Left, however widely you define it. Its mobilising reach was quite different even from CND's. SportAid, while resembling CND's age profile, attracted a youth constituency which, for the great part, had never previously been on any kind of demonstration. It reached the previously unreached. The famine movement's capacity to mobilise *new* forces has thus helped to shift the political centre of gravity. In 1979, a majority of young voters identified with Thatcherism, saw it as a vision for the future. In 1986, there is a new mood amongst contemporary youth. A sea-change has taken place.

This capacity to mobilise new constituencies is bound up with its character as a movement, the way it has evolved and, above all, its deep roots in contemporary popular culture, especially the culture of rock music.

Geldof's former career as a rock star was in no way coincidental to the movement's success – his rock connections *were* his political credentials (a guarantee to the fans that, at least from him, they were unlikely to hear a replay of the old-style lyrics of the professional politicians). The famine movement only really took off with the coming-together of some of the biggest of the contemporary British pop stars for the BandAid single, 'Do They Know It's Christmas?'. Since every fan knows how much it costs a star to give a free performance, this gesture helped to put 'caring for others' on the map as a value that belonged to the world of rock culture.

LiveAid

This was followed in July of last year with LiveAid, the one-day, open-air pop extravaganza in London and Philadelphia with

Bob Geldof has become the voice of a new mood amongst the young.

global television coverage. The garnering of such a broad cross-section of pop stars for such a universal cause had enormous pulling power. The rock music connection gave the cause a national – indeed international – stage which it otherwise could not possibly have enjoyed. The combination of culture and politics, altruism and fun, was irresistible. The link between rock culture and politics is not, of course, new – it was a powerful element in the politics of the 1960s, and Rock against Racism, the GLC's cultural politics and Red Wedge are more recent examples from the Left. But the sheer scale and ambition of LiveAid was unprecedented. Never before had 'pop politics' created and shaped a whole social movement in this way.

No other cultural form could have played the political role that rock did in the BandAid/LiveAid phenomenon. Its ubiquitous presence in the lives of young people gives it an unparalleled mobilising power. When politics makes contact with this culture, it finds itself in touch with the cultural language which, for the majority of young people today (and for many not-so-young people, too), most authentically expresses how they experience the world. The rise of Geldof as the representative figure of the movement is a good illustration of this point. It's not just that he is a very talented politician: he became its cultural representative. He symbolised the fusion of two worlds usually kept well-segregated.

Nothing more graphically illustrates this than Geldof's visit to the European parliament and his meeting with leading EEC figures. His dress and appearance was of the street not the committee room. His language was direct and uncomplicated. His demand was uncompromising. He was the representative of something new, a political movement born of a youth culture. This has enabled him to polarise the politics of aid in a new way: direct democracy versus bureaucracy. The nearest parallel to this mobilisation was the 60s, when the fact that youth stood so massively on the side of radicalism was due, above all, to a rare and powerful crossover between politics and culture.

Run the world – or across your room

SportAid, like LiveAid, also built on a popular cultural form. Unlike LiveAid, however, SportAid used a form which placed a premium, not on spectatorship but on participation – that is, in the doing (ie, running) as well as the giving. 'Run the World' was an appeal to everyone, if somewhat utopian. The growing popularity in recent years of jogging, fun runs, 10 km races, half-marathons, marathons and

a lifting of the popular horizons beyond our own shores. . . thus represents a crucial turning point in the erosion of Thatcherite hegemony

what have you offered an ideal participatory form. It drew on one of the most progressive sporting and cultural traditions of the last few years, and through it, also on a growing ecological-environmental consciousness connected to the 'politics of health'.

The London marathon, for instance, is an event *of* the people: anyone can run (not only the 'professionals'). It goes right through the city. Communities as well as groups of friends and individual runners of all kinds and ages turn out for the occasion (allowing for a variety of forms of parti-

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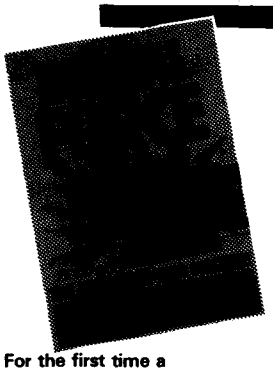

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cipation not a feature of demonstrations, the Left's preferred mass cultural form). The emphasis in SportAid, moreover, was no longer on a single national event, but rather on doing it where you are: 'let a hundred runs run' as it were (even if it was only across your own living room).

Another key feature of the BandAid/LiveAid/SportAid phenomenon has been its capacity to transcend national frontiers. LiveAid was staged on both sides of the Atlantic: the stars belong to a highly internationalised market and audience: the concerts were beamed by satellite to many countries. By using the global networks of rock music and television, the movement was able to be, at once, both national and international. For a movement where the key issue is about the relationship between the First and the Third Worlds, this was not only appropriate but added significantly to the power of the appeal.

SportAid built on this international dimension in a number of different ways. It was sponsored by SportAid and Unicef. It was timed to have maximum impact on the UN Assembly debate on Africa, which immediately followed it. It was preceded by a week of activities across the globe, in the West, in the East and in Africa itself. The main focus of the event was the Sudanese runner, Omar Khalifi. The 10 km run itself was staged at the same time in over 270 cities in 78 countries. Brisbane, Budapest, Leningrad, Paris, London,

the famine movement's capacity to mobilise *new* forces has helped to shift the political centre of gravity

Ougadougou, New York, Nairobi, Rome and many more. And, like LiveAid, it was televised across the world. Unlike Live Aid however, which at the end of the day was primarily focussed on London and Philadelphia, SportAid engaged in a more direct and active manner with the Third World, and Africa in particular. Africa was not just an object of a movement in the developed world, it was also, at last, one of the subjects.

Shifting the political agenda

So what has the BandAid/LiveAid/SportAid movement achieved? Its greatest success has been to change the national and, to a rather lesser extent, the international political agenda. The plight of the Third World has never been a national political priority. Nothing has symbolised this more clearly than the low priority which has always been accorded to expenditure on aid, the patronising and forked-tongue way in which it is usually discussed. Britain's aid contribution – as a proportion of national income – has always been miserable, especially when her past contribution to undeveloping the underdeveloped world is borne in mind. And when the era of paring down public expenditure arrived, aid was high on the list of sacrificial lambs. Under Thatcher it has been ruthlessly pruned back. Now, for the first time, expenditure on aid is a big political issue.

Of course, it isn't simply a question of aid. 'Aid', in fact, is a very inadequate way of thinking about the relationship between the developed and the under-developed worlds or the causes of world poverty and famine. Some genuine reservations have been expressed about the limitations of the kind of 'famine consciousness' which has developed in the wake of LiveAid/SportAid. It certainly cannot yet be said that the majority of people in Britain, or even the majority of the participants in 'Run The World' have properly grasped the dynamic relationship between 'us' and 'them' across the North/South divide.

The largest chunk of 'aid' imaginable in any one year will not create the conditions in which Africa can feed itself if world commodity prices, the terms of trade, interest rates and Third World indebtedness to the international banking system remain unchanged. No act of charity can heal the breach within poor nations when the superpowers are exploiting those divisions in the attempt to recruit them into their side in the cold war which is being conducted on a worldwide scale.

However, the record of the famine movement on this aspect is not as inadequate as it is sometimes depicted and is manifestly improving. In highlighting the causes of African poverty, Geldof and co have drawn attention to the underlying economic relationships between the First World and the Third World, questioning not only the levels but also the forms of aid, singling out the squeeze in which the Third World is caught by the debt problem, and ridiculing the absurdity of grain and butter mountains in Europe and famine in Africa.

It has been argued that, although the famine movement is beginning to highlight these deeper aspects of the problem, it has, like the older aid and emergency agencies, portrayed Africa simply as victim linked to the charity of the West in what is essentially a paternalistic relationship. Again, there is something in this: it could hardly be otherwise, given the way our imperial history has shaped our political and cultural traditions. But the Third World as victim no longer seems the dominant image. SportAid did indeed talk

the combination of culture and politics, altruism and fun, was irresistible

about the responsibilities of the First World to the Third World, and Africa was, as we have seen, a participant. Aid is moving from the realm of charity to the world of politics. In generating a popular movement around this, it has given internationalism a new content.

It's worth adding too that, although the UN debate yielded little tangible result, international neo-liberalism was exposed to quite new pressures. Not only has the Thatcherite 'put your own house in order' attitude towards the African crisis been shaken dramatically, but it has been placed on the defensive, internationally. Shultz's lecture to Africa on privatisation and more initiative by private enterprise and less by the state was revealed for the hollow, cynical sham it certainly was, an excuse to do little or nothing.

Charity *and* politics

Another achievement of the SportAid movement is the way it has combined charity with politics. Again, this has been a controversial aspect of SportAid on the Left. The traditional Left has long regarded charity as a sop, which eases the conscience but does not tackle the problem at the root, and which moreover makes such matters appear to be the responsibility of private individuals rather than of the state. Of course, it is true that famine cannot be permanently averted in Africa by charity alone.

But this partly misses the point. For Third World poverty is the responsibility of people *and* governments. Politically, the state is not likely to do much unless the people are pushing it. But for the people to mount an attack on the current set of national priorities and to engage in the enormous task of mobilising public opinion so as to create a new political agenda, they must find ways of identifying with and committing themselves to the cause in some public and socially validated way.

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Personal giving is one important way of relating to an issue, though it may not be enough to constitute a whole politics. But it implies commitment. We must not underestimate the role of movements, which have their base within civil society, in creating a current or movement of opinion which has a shift in state policy as one of its ultimate objectives.

SportAid was essentially a civil society movement, arising outside the state and formal politics. That was a major part of its attraction. It was therefore participatory in its whole thrust – getting ordinary people to do something, to give directly, themselves. But, in addition to raising a great deal of money, it also placed new and quite dramatic pressures on the government to take the aid question seriously and to act. Far from being simply a sop, charity in this context has become a powerful political weapon. It seems unlikely that a broad-based, anti-Thatcherite popular politics can be built without politicising the charitable impulse.

In this context, it is worth noting the story of the government's attitude towards Geldof and the famine movement. At the time of LiveAid, the government simply ignored it. But such has been the success of the famine movement, and the changed popular mood, that when it came to SportAid, the Tories were no longer able to remain so aloof. Now, grudgingly, a knighthood has been found. Meanwhile, the hectic search is on for a mega-star of the pop world more politically acceptable, more amenable to The Leader's whim – and preferably, no doubt, English rather than Irish. Richard Branson of the Virgin record and travel empire and 'LitterAid', is the latest candidate for this role.

Abstentee Left

This brings us, finally, to the attitude of the Left. Sadly, the Left's attitude has been, at best, praise from the sidelines; more usually, grudging support, with a good supply of sectarian sniping. By and large the organised Left has been almost totally *absent* from the whole movement and process. The Left has sought no popular points of entry into it. To cite just two examples of what might have been. Following LiveAid, there was a series of initiatives such as FashionAid, FoodAid and ArtAid. But no UnionAid. A popular initiative from the unions last year with LiveAid *et al* could have raised large sums of money from within the unions, increased awareness amongst union members about Third World issues, created new links between popular cultural figures and the unions, enhanced their public image, and enabled new forms of mobilisation and creativity within the unions themselves. And when it comes to SportAid, everybody seemed to be falling over themselves to join it except the labour movement. True, Denis Healey was seen on the tv screens in his 'I Ran the World' teeshirt, limbering up on the House of Commons grass with other MPs. But where was the Labour party NEC or the TUC general council?

the organised Left has been almost totally *absent* from the whole movement

This absence is not accidental. The continuing suspicion about 'charity' and about youth culture amongst sections of the Left is no doubt one reason. Another is reservations about the way Africa is portrayed. But the most important reason is surely a profound cultural sectarianism which still pervades the Left. The real reason, one suspects, why there has been no relationship with BandAid/LiveAid/SportAid is because the initiative came from *outside* the Left. It was not 'ours'. If it had been Nicaragua, Chile or South Africa, it would not doubt have been different. But here was an initiative which came from quite new quarters *and* on an issue on which the Left has traditionally had precious little to say beyond slogans.

Yet the capacity of the Left to act as a national force cannot only be about its own creations, its own capacity to initiate. It must also be about its ability to relate positively to others, and the initiatives of other forces. That is what hegemony is about. Otherwise our model of society is that the only things worth getting involved in are our own things; others are not capable of creating movements and currents which deserve our support, enthusiasm and intervention. This is a very patronising view of the world.

By absenting itself from a popular movement like SportAid, the Left thereby also largely deprived itself of a voice in the direction of that movement and of the debate which has inevitably followed, and thus once again isolated itself from the mainstream of national-popular life which, on this occasion, seems – like the great swarm of anonymous runners – to have passed us by somewhere along the way.

This is inexcusable for another reason. The famine movement has asserted at a popular level the need for a new relationship between Britain and the Third World. The peace movement of the 80s has been more internationalist and less parochial than that of the 60s. Taken together with the reassertion of a more traditional strength of the Left – solidarity movements with Third World struggles, now dramatically expressed in the context of South Africa – we can now detect the emergence of something new, a number of parallel popular movements all of which are about a different post-imperial role for Britain. □

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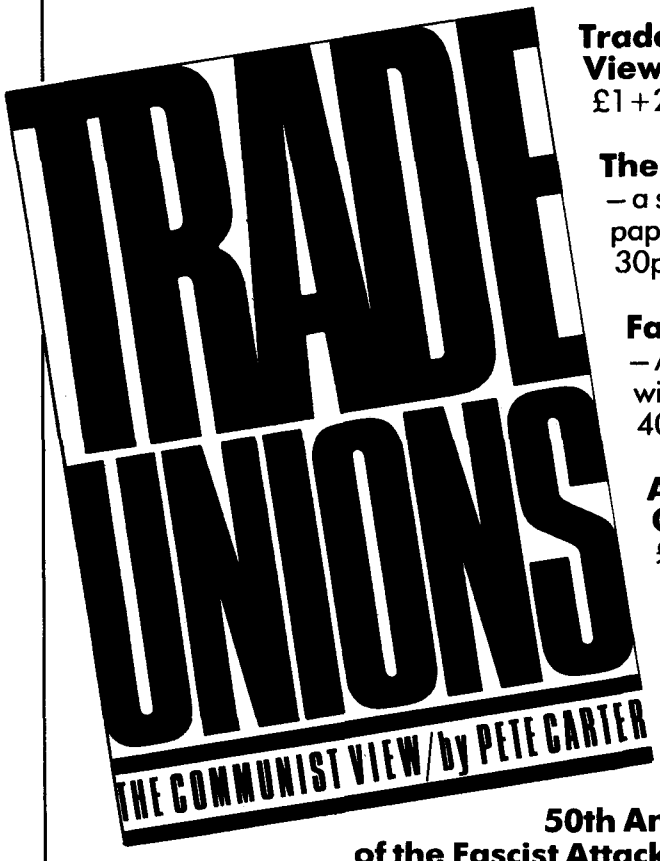

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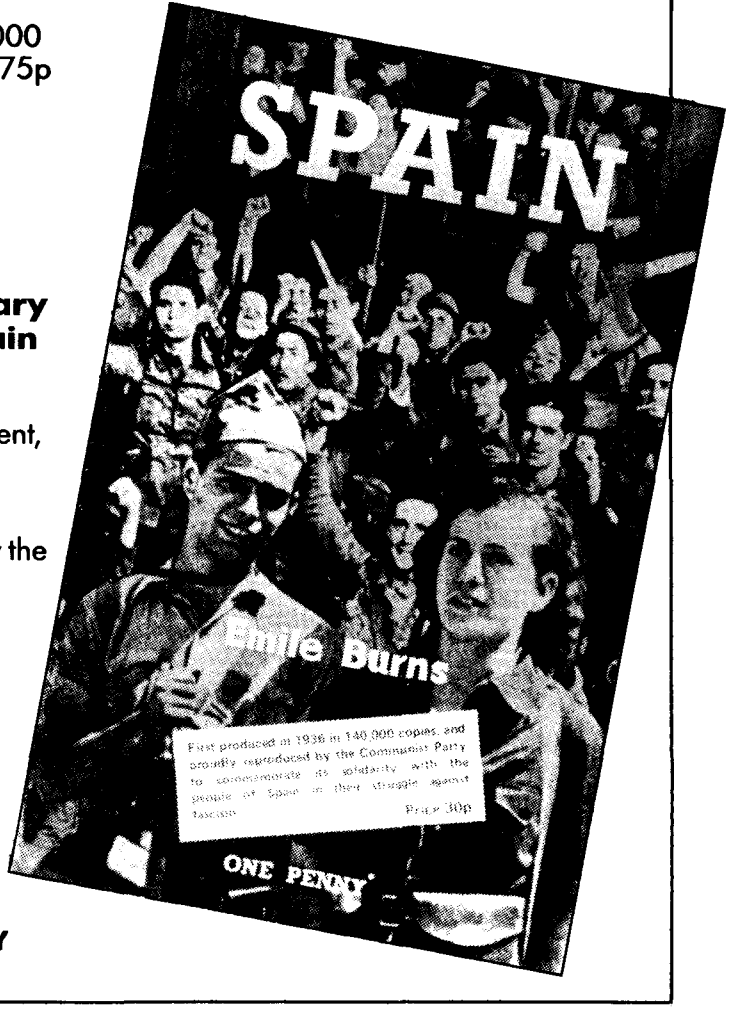

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MAKING WAVES

Women's committees and women's units are new arrivals to the local government scene. They try to reach out to women in the community as well as attempting to work within the councils to promote women's interests.

A roundtable discussion

The participants in the roundtable are: Jan Etienne, women's officer for the London borough of Hackney; Lee Harrison, chair, women's committee, Nottingham city council; Marie Kane, women's officer, Stirling district council; Deborah Worsley, formerly joint head of the GLC women's committee support unit and currently joint head of the women's equality group in the London strategic policy unit. It is chaired by Tricia Davis, a member of the Communist party's executive committee and *Marxism Today*'s editorial board. All the participants are speaking in a personal capacity.

Where would you place the women's units and women's committees in relation to the women's movement of the 70s?

Marie I don't see them as a steady progression from the 70s, that women then were pressing to get into local government. It was really fortuitous the way it happened, it doesn't seem to have resulted from pressure from women from without. I don't see a logical sequence of events.

Deborah I agree. It doesn't seem to have been something that had a consistent aim, that was identified and then achieved: though the making of demands for change in institutions and political administrations was obviously an important focus of the women's movement.

Lee But I think it is very tied up with large numbers of women joining the Labour party and becoming more active in trade unions and making demands through these channels. These women, and I include myself here, came from that feminist movement and saw in the Labour party a possible vehicle for change.

You've obviously all had a political background. So, where do you think all these individual women came from?

Marie There was a mood around at the end of the 70s and in the early 80s of getting your hands on the resources. I was in the Workers' Educational Association and women's education and you began to get part-time courses and maybe part-time tutorships for women's studies. You began to see that you could get control of some of the resources. This started to happen in lots of fields at about this time, I came into the women's unit then.

Deborah Looking at the example of London, it is interesting that there was nothing about women in the GLC's original manifesto, although it had been worked at quite hard by sections of the Left. There was an interweaving of all sorts of radical strands and yet women didn't feature there. But once the administration was running it was a key woman member, Valerie Wise, and women officers who were working in that council, and who themselves were in a position to know that the administration was offering resources, who began to make demands. It was a very open administration. If you asked for something or said you wanted to do something, no-one was really going to stop you. That's very unusual and is significant for understanding what women achieved there.

Jan I would see the origins of women's committees also in the voluntary groups. It is here that women were organising together in the middle of the 70s. They were coming out and making demands on local authorities before it happened in the Labour party. There were women active in women's groups in the 70s and women working on particular issues – but there wasn't the opportunity to get issues heard through the local authority structure.

Do you think there is a different kind of political culture in London from that in the 'provinces'?

Lee There is a different level of organisation. Certainly the push for a women's committee in Nottingham very much followed on from the GLC initiative. In Nottingham this was motivated by women within women's sections of the Labour party and I see

Deborah Worsley

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Lee Harrison

Marie Kane

Jan Etienne

photos: Carol-Ann Allen

them as crucial. Women's sections are an example of women working together autonomously.

Deborah I do wonder if outside London the GLC experience has led to a model being adopted without the groundwork being done amongst women to get the necessary level of support.

Lee That's a good point. I certainly had the feeling that the section in our manifesto in Nottingham had been written in a vacuum although there were not just women in the Labour party, but a much larger grouping of women who were looking towards the local authority to come up with resources.

Did you find that you were able to involve that older group of traditional Labour women activists who, perhaps, hadn't come from the women's movement, but who had been in the Labour party much longer and had learnt their politics in relation to women there?

Lee The women that are involved in our women's section do not come into that category at all. But within the administration and within the Labour group there are women who would fit that. Over the three years that I've been involved I get the feeling that some of them have become much more supportive through the experience of the women's committee. Also, those councillors who are vaguely sympathetic get more confidence from the experience of other women. Being on a Labour group where first of all as a woman you are in a minority and secondly, as a woman who believes in women's rights, you are in a further minority, does tend to isolate you when you are having arguments about why you should not have a 'Miss Nottingham' festival!

Marie You've isolated something that's very true. Outside the GLC the experience does seem to be that the support for women's committees has come from a very small group of Labour councillors in the teeth of hostility from the rest. There is not a groundswell of pressure from women outside and you're in a very vulnerable position because you can't say, 'I've got all these women pressing me to make demands on the council' because that hasn't been there. It's come from nowhere in some ways. To get over that you really have to create your own constituency.

Moving on to look at the processes and structures involved in setting up women's units, how do you think things have changed since the early days?

Deborah The whole of the first year of the GLC's women's committee was spent picking up the results of over-expectation. The early meetings we had were about women identifying problems, and they lacked structure. The first public meetings of the women's unit were like spontaneous gatherings of enthusiasm. But you are under tremendous pressure to achieve, to offer something to the authority and to the politicians as well as offering something to women. That's what changes things and that's where the question of the role of officers is interesting because as an officer you have got to be aware of all those dynamics and be trying to steer things, to shape and suggest strategies which are going to keep everybody going along with it and build it up at the same time.

Jan There are some London boroughs where, just to look at the gatherings of women for the early meetings, you could anticipate how the committee would work, and for whom. The women's movement is a very white movement and the very first meetings of the committees were dominated by white women.

In the early open meetings in Hackney you could see that they were representative of women who were already active on particular issues. I don't believe that these women who came to the meetings would have conceived of having a women's unit in the form that it is today. I have a feeling that they thought that what they wanted could be achieved in a short space of time. They did not anticipate the difficulty of working within the local authority structure.

Deborah There are things about the GLC administration which made a big difference to the politics that were adopted and the shape of our women's committee. The GLC had been going for about a year and already a lot of initiatives had been started. It was obvious to a lot of communities and campaigning groups that it was a different style of administration. So, by the time we had our open meeting, it was extraordinarily representative in terms of both age and race, outer London and inner London and women who'd had no contact with political organisations as well as those who were the hard autonomous, white women's movement. There is an important relationship between women outside local

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government and the shape the committee takes. It was those meetings that gave the committee its brief. It wasn't the Labour party or the politicians or the officers. It was the women who came to the meetings who laid down the principles. That was the strongest source of manifesto in terms of political principles. From that flowed all the things that we then tried to do, which I think all women's committees do, and that is to be participative, open, consult, make the authority accessible to those women, be prepared to be the channel by which all those diverse women get access to the authority, to be resourcing women in the community. That wouldn't have been the approach if you'd asked the authority itself to write a brief.

Did similar kinds of consultation processes take place in Nottingham and Stirling?

Marie In Stirling there wasn't the outside pressure so you had to go and consult women and let them know what you were doing – to have a body to represent if you like. The first year was spent building this up. We had a very successful first meeting attended by about 100 women and we thought, 'well, this is easy. . . all we need to do is just take the show around the villages'. But it didn't happen. I would go and distribute leaflets for meetings outside bingo in tiny villages like Cowie. Some women did come but it was very frustrating because we didn't have the outreach workers to really respond to their demands and sustain that group. In this situation you do set up expectations that you can't fulfil.

Lee We had a similar response to that in our outer estates in Nottingham and one of the concerns that was raised early on from our consultative process was that the women that were involved were not representative of working class women living on the outskirts of the city in council estates. We did have a few meetings where a few such women came but what became apparent was that they were very isolated, they didn't have resources, they were making attempts to organise themselves, but they needed that outreach work that we haven't been able to provide.

Jan In Hackney the consultation process has been similar with an open meeting and then a series of meetings to look at specific issues. But we noticed early on that there were a number of women who attended these meetings who influenced the priorities laid down at the end of the day – priorities which totally ignored certain groups of women living and working in the borough. To the women who did not attend the meetings, they seemed like select gatherings of women (many from outside the borough) preaching feminist ideals. It was only through pressure – with support from the wider sections of the community – that these women are now beginning to make demands with their needs in mind.

Lee The trouble is that you are asking so much of women when you bring them into the consultative process. You want them to have some understanding of a very bureaucratic system, an understanding of the way meetings work, to be articulate, to have a commitment to attend meetings, to get involved. And all this without offering them resources to match this. I certainly feel that I've failed to recognise this. It really isn't enough just to talk to women.

Deborah In the early stages the barriers presented by the women's movement also presented an enormous problem. You've

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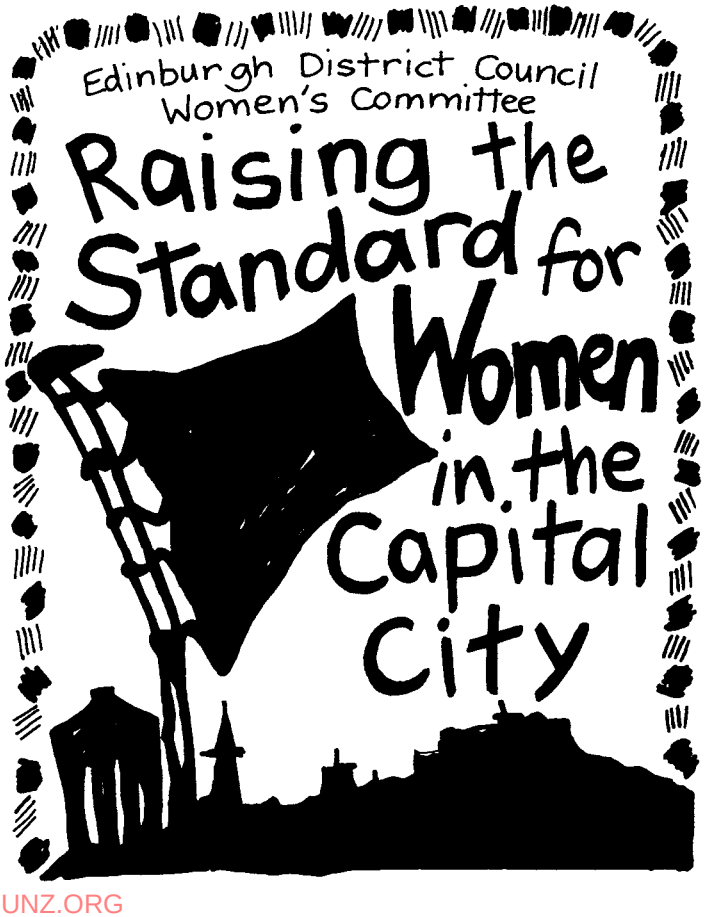

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got to break through these constraints if you want to deliver a proper programme of services for all women. In London, of those who attended the early huge meetings, there was a very strong element of the white women's movement and there's no doubt that they saw the opportunity and the resources as rightfully theirs.

At the same time the council was promoting all these progressive principles – saying that its committees must promote anti-racism, must be delivering services to women with disabilities and so on. So they all gave us the programme but very much expected the goodies to come to them. When we delivered the programme and said, 'we are going to involve different groups of women who see things in different ways', there was quite a lot of tension there, quite a lot of hostility that came to us because we were not just relating to the women's movement. At a certain point we broke through on this and then a lot of the traditional women's group just left us alone.

One of the criticism that's been levelled at women's units and committees is that whilst they've done a lot of good for women, they've simply made the groups into clients by taking away some of the resourcefulness of the women's movement in the 70s when it was poor and under-resourced.

Deborah It's a nonsense. . .

Marie Why should it be good to scramble around for money? Somehow there's the idea that having money and resources smacks of decadence, that you should spend all your time trying to get a mailing out. I don't think that's a legitimate criticism at all. I think there have been criticisms of the grant-aiding process. But I didn't agree with the criticism that having money to produce glossy leaflets, being able to do a razzmatazz campaign, is somehow marketing feminism in an obnoxious way. I don't agree with this because it is the only way we are going to reach all women. For instance, our women's committee had the resources to put a leaflet about women through every door in Stirling. That's marvellous. It was a way of introducing the women's committee and to deride that is just puritanical.

In what sense have local authority trade unions been allies and in what sense, if any, have they created problems for women's committees?

Jan Without the support of the unions I don't think women's units can achieve very much. There has to be a close working relationship with the unions – at times even on day-to-day matters. And unless they are really aware of the issues being raised by the women's unit then progress is extremely slow.

Deborah But the other side of this is that sometimes you don't actually get a chance to pre-determine whether or not it's a good relationship. Sometimes they just take hostile action almost before you arrive. You can spend a great deal of time and energy trying to unblock that. For example, they opposed the formation of the unit at the GLC, they objected to the grading and they were always representing existing interests. Some of the London boroughs had much greater problems.

Jan Unions will vary, of course. On issues such as establishing codes of practice on sexual harassment within the workforce the manual unions may be totally opposed whilst white collar unions may be supportive. This is where the officers' expertise in finding ways to educate and at the same time safeguard relations is crucial.

Deborah But there are examples of real sabotage, which doesn't mean all the members support it and sometimes it is simply that vested interests are not going to back down. It's partly that, with women's politics, you're always breaking the mould.

Lee We've got a consultative group with the trade unions and they have taken on the fact that their own practice is not good practice. They've organised a forum which is open to all employees to supplement the full-time union structure. So you can have black women discussing policy with councillors whereas usually, on official committees, you would have full-time officials only, and they are usually white men. I see that as very positive.

Jan There are instances where, if they want to, councils should go ahead even without the full support of the unions. Equality targets are one example, that's where the council want to employ a certain number of blacks and ethnic minorities and women department by department by a certain date. There wasn't total agreement from the unions on that in Hackney, but the council still went ahead. I think there are a number of women's issues that should be treated in the same way.

Lee What's particularly frustrating is that a lot of the unions we are dealing with have got really good national policies, but locally there can be total opposition.

How successful have women's committees been in making women's demands central to local government?

Jan When we are talking about achievement we have to look at how the women's unit fits in with the whole structure of the council. After all the women's unit is not a service like housing or social services: they are isolated and don't have proper access to, for example, a management team. I still think we're knocking our heads against a brick wall. Councils resist looking at alternative structures, alternative ways of making women's demands effective. It's a very, very slow process to deliver goods and that's largely because local authority structures have no place for women and cannot be changed overnight.

Marie I've been working as a women's officer for a year and only now do I realise how much I need to be integrated into the structure. I need to make other people responsible for obstructiveness, for example. So somebody else – maybe the chief executive – has to deal with it and not me. I thought that integration would happen automatically but it hasn't. I think alternative structures within local government could marginalise us even more. We have to make management responsible for what we are saying and we have to be in on that management. Freedom is important and I appreciate the freedom I have to get on with the job, but you have to be integrated as well. There's been a huge clash in local government recently: you've got women who have had nothing to do with local government before and local government officers who've had nothing to do with women before, and the two of us have to meet. But it's not an equal struggle.

Jan When I was talking about alternative structures I had in mind, for example, the formation and acceptance of women's groups within particular council services – groups which have status and can influence the council. This is particularly important because women's units themselves are never going to be large departments within the council structure.

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How, then, would you assess the experience of women's committees and units – their shortcomings and their successes?

Deborah I have not yet seen a women's committee that hasn't been constantly analysing the process they are involved in. With very small resources these committees are making a lot of waves. It's too soon to measure the achievement, but we can say that we have not been put off the scent, we've pressed on, we've come to understand a lot about the institutions we are working in; about power and what it means, and how power relates to the politics we have come from. We need to exchange experiences and learn from each other and it won't take very long for us to work out strategies and programmes based on our experience.

I'm not just talking about 'measurable' success because I think that women's units like Greenham and women's groups in the coalfields have been symbols for other women and we can't measure this.

Marie We can't measure change in climate. In Stirling the women's committee has been able to raise issues that haven't been raised before, like the lack of childcare facilities or sexual harassment, and have them discussed in the newspapers. It's been the women's committee that's provided this forum. That does change the climate as more women out there begin to address these issues. So I think a lot has been achieved. But, going back to Deborah's point, I think we are isolated, especially those of us outside London. We do need to meet and plan strategy more. We need to share the knowledge we have learned.

Deborah Yes. And one of the big things we've learned is that what we are saying is sensible and right for a wide constituency of women. By sticking it out through the hostile times, and being successful with one or two projects, you prove beyond any doubt that what you went in there believing was right: that on many issues you are saying quite acceptable and obvious things while on some issues you are really challenging.

Do you think the experience of women's committees has had an impact on Alliance and Tory women councillors? Have you found any common ground?

Deborah Yes, a lot. After the initial hostility because of the party system, it has been a really interesting aspect of women's committees. The questions that were raised begin to undermine the traditional opposition. We found the sticking point was the question of spending money. They didn't disagree with the issues although they did differ over the solution sometimes.

Lee We've got two Conservative women on our committee and in some things they are supportive but once you talk about spending money they are in total opposition. These Conservative women do tend to take the view that they've succeeded despite the odds.

Deborah But there are Labour women like that!

What kind of impact have women's committees had on men as men and on the politics of labourism?

Marie In Scotland women's committees have had a profound impact on Labour administrations but not half as much on the Labour party itself which somehow carries on with the same assumptions. We need to make sure the party keeps up with what is going on in the councils because, at the moment, the councils are far ahead.

Lee There have been changes in my Labour party but it's very hard to say 'that was a result of having a women's sub-committee and an equal opportunities committee'. But it must be part of the general gelling of these issues.

Jan If the women's committees and units were taken away today then I don't think men would be carrying through the policies.

Marie There are some acceptable issues like childcare and disability but other issues like gay and lesbian rights are very threatening and are still unacceptable.

Jan In the early stages there were times when men were frightened to go to the women's committee meetings because they thought they would be verbally attacked. They would send women who were lower down the scale to represent them. Those days have changed to some extent but, we still function mainly as a police force.

Do you think there's a generational thing involved as far as men are concerned?

Lee I wish there was.

Deborah Our surveys showed that younger men were much more supportive of the initiatives of the women's committee. But I think the political world is very different from the outside world. In the end we took the view that we weren't interested in changing men. We wanted to see people do what they were supposed to do, and if they changed, then good. So if they were politicians with policies about things we wanted to see them implement them. It's men in power that are really different from men outside without that power. We probably made more of an impact on the general public than on the politicians.

Do you think the women's units are a model, a tool for the future, and if so, how do you see them developing locally and nationally. Is a Ministry of Women where we are going?

Deborah We sure are. What a nightmare that'll be!

Lee I think the units are important, particularly in terms of directing resources to women, but it's important not to see them as the only way, the only vehicle through which women can work for change.

Deborah They are very important and useful in getting the public sector to respond to women's needs.

Jan Women's committees have had a tremendous effect on attitudes – men's attitudes – across the board. I feel that a Ministry of Women will be able to look at all the questions more strategically.

Marie There has to be a lot of women's organisations outside municipal feminism because the money we have has got strings attached. We are limited, not totally, but other groups outside the local authority don't have the same problems. We're just one channel, we can't be a model for others. We have to go in tandem. □

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AFTER ATLANTICISM

Dan Smith

The public outcry against the bombing of Libya was a symptom of changing popular attitudes towards the US. They are moving Labour's way. But no one should underestimate how difficult it will be, for example, to remove cruise from British soil.

THIS YEAR, for the first time in many a year, the relationship with the USA has become a controversial issue in domestic British politics. It began with the Star Wars research agreement signed late last year, and continued with the Westland affair which crossed from the old year into the new; then there was the effort to give much of what's left of the British automotive industry to US corporations and, most dramatically, the support and assistance given to the bombing raid on Libya.

The unpopularity of Mrs Thatcher's support for the Libyan bombing raid sits in a context which has been building for several years and is not limited to Britain.

The western European peace movements' main achievement has been to break the Atlanticist consensus which has framed politics for over a generation. The essence of this consensus is the dual assumption that western European security depends on nuclear deterrence, and on the USA. The greatest doubt now hangs over both these elements. Of course, the old orthodoxy is still powerful, but the separation of western European social democracy from the Atlanticist consensus is widespread, and in other sectors of political opinion new doubts have emerged.

The extent of distrust of the USA does not simply mean that British defence policy lacks public confidence. More importantly, it means that its underlying political assumptions are no longer those of majority opinion. But not only have they been the basis of western European concepts of security since the late 1940s, they have also provided the framework defining both western European foreign policies and the range of domestic political possibilities in each country. Indeed, the very concept of 'western Europe' as we know it is a creation of the late 1940s – the period of economic reconstruction with US aid, the formation of NATO and the permanent basing of US forces in Europe. All mainstream political thinking and policies have since been confined to the limits set then by US power, by the political conditions attached to both economic aid and military alliance.

Credit for shaking these assumptions must be shared by the western European peace movements with the Reagan administration. The peace movements have exposed the immorality and danger of NATO's nuclear strategy, which is and always has been, fundamentally, American nuclear strategy, and the continuing nuclear confrontation with the USSR.

NATO Europe	Cruise Missiles	Other US nuclear weapons	Other US nuclear-related bases	Other US military bases	Member of NATO Integrated Command Structure
BELGIUM	●	●	●		●
BRITAIN	●	●	●	●	●
DENMARK			●		●
FRANCE					
WEST GERMANY	●	●	●	●	●
GREECE		●	●	●	
ITALY	●	●	●	●	●
NETHERLANDS	*	●	●	●	●
NORWAY			●		●
PORTUGAL			**	●	●
SPAIN			●	●	

* *Planned* ** *In the Azores*

While Reagan, by seeking to restore US world power after its relative losses in the 1960s and 1970s, has continually obliged by providing evidence of the dangers of predicating our security on its policies and capabilities.

A longer-term trend

But the fractures in the consensus are also the result of long-term trends which make it doubtful that it will be fully repaired even if the next US administration is less militant than the current one, more sensitive to western European concerns. Even 10 years ago, there was clear evidence that western Europe was moving away from its dependence on and subordination to Washington.

Commercial rivalries and divergent economic interests fed disputes and conflict over issues ranging from energy, through policy towards the Middle East, to ways of responding to the economic crisis. The US approach in the Carter years, and even to some extent in the preceding Nixon/Ford administrations, was to attempt to handle these divergences by concessions to western European and Japanese interests, as the basis for building a new 'trilateralist' system of world power. Under Reagan, the approach has been to reassert that US interests are the interests of all the advanced capitalist states.

By aligning herself with resurgent US unilateralism, Mrs Thatcher has turned against the developing trend of western European independence from the USA. She has accepted to an extent which is extraordinary but not unprecedented – the same view was taken 40 years ago by a Labour government – that British and US interests are identical. There are of course, some exceptions to the pattern. She refused to accept US sanctions on British companies working on the Siberian natural gas pipeline to western Europe and, apparently against her first instincts, criticised the US invasion of Grenada; initially the British government criticised Star Wars, as it has Reagan's repudiation of the SALT 2 limits on strategic weapons. (But in both these instances the criticism came

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from the Foreign Office, and the prime minister reversed the FO's policy over Star Wars.)

There may yet be other exceptions, but the overall pattern is clear. The core of British foreign policy, intermittently disguised by Mrs Thatcher's abrasive shows of strength, is decrepit. It forfeits any independent British role in world politics and systematically stymies the development of a relatively cohesive and distinctive western European position.

New possibilities

British security and foreign policies have been characterised in the past three or four decades by the contradictory pressures of three competing tendencies. For the sake of brevity, call them imperial nostalgia, Atlanticism and Europeanism. Each provides a different focus for policy – respectively, Britain's independent world role; Britain's part in western Europe's dependent partnership with the USA; and the development of a more independent and united western Europe.

The embers of imperialism remained important well after decolonisation was properly under way – they are more than half of what the decision to purchase Trident is about. But as this approach has become less and less tenable in the face of the realities of world power and the debilities of the domestic economy, it has increasingly been expressed in the evocation of a 'special relationship' with the USA, a version of Atlanticism. One of Mrs Thatcher's achievements is that, for probably the first time since the immediate postwar years, a US administration probably thinks the relationship is as special as a British government does.

But the combination of US policy, peace movement pressure and long-term trends in western Europe have eroded the certainties of Atlanticism, both the version of it which seeks a special relationship with the USA and the basic, less peculiarly British model. As a result the Europeanist tendency, having been partially eclipsed after making the pace for a period in the 1960s and 1970s, begins to find a new resonance. What sort of Europeanism this is to be – or, perhaps, to what sort of Europe the 'ism' will be attached – is open to question.

Is it a vision of Europe which remains trapped in the logic of the cold war and armed confrontation between the blocs? Or is it one which could provide a genuine alternative to Atlanticism?

the core of British foreign policy. . . is decrepit

Fractures in the Atlanticist consensus have at last opened mainstream political thinking to new possibilities – or at least to the recognition that some sort of reassessment is now essential. But no social democratic party in western Europe has yet managed to develop these possibilities in any systematic way. Even the Italian Communists, who have approached some of the core problems imaginatively, leave several important questions unanswered. There are many reasons for this, including abiding Atlanticist loyalties and habits, but one is recognition of the limits on the actions of any individual country.

If western European countries were simultaneously to adopt foreign and security policies which offered genuine alternatives to Atlanticism, that would be one thing (one very marvellous thing). But it's simply not going to happen. Neither France nor Italy is likely to move that way. In the Federal Republic of Germany, even if the SPD returns to government at the next elections, it will probably be in coalition with the FDP, still showing no signs of dropping Atlanticism.

A non-Atlanticist Labour government in Britain could not count on much passive support from the rest of western Europe, and probably not on any *active* support – which is what it would really need in the face of US pressure. It is possible that considerations like this led to Gonzales' about-face on Spanish membership of NATO. They have certainly constrained Papandreou in would-be nuclear-free Greece. They could not be ignored by Kinnock in Britain. Even if western European social democratic parties were moving uniformly and swiftly to the adoption of a cohesive non-Atlanticist alternative, the prospects of any government success-

illustration: Nick Davies

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'The struggle for women's liberation is a central political question for the working class'

British Road to Socialism – Programme of the Communist Party.

Three issues are at stake. First of all there is the power of individual men. . . Secondly, there is the culture of the movement, how it organises itself, the implicit as well as explicit values it subscribes to and the questions it considers relevant. In all these respects the Labour Movement is deeply patriarchal, organising itself in ways which preserve and legitimate the hierarchies of capitalism. . . Finally, there is the movement's refusal to recognise that equality for women is not just a question of rights to be legislated or bargained for. It is also a question of how we understand, construct and reconstruct our ideas about masculinity and femininity.
(*Tricia Davis. Report to the Executive Committee. January 1986.*)

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fully implementing such an approach would depend on the electoral chances of sister parties.

In other words, addressing this problem does not mean making excuses or expecting defeat. It means being serious about what a Labour government can do within constraints which have, for example, prevented the Greek government with its very strong electoral base from being able to make any progress with its policy of removing the US bases. It means thinking about how an important policy can be implemented in extraordinarily difficult circumstances. And that itself means paying attention to the details of the policy, the constraints upon it and the allies it might find.

the alternative we are looking for is a *de*-alignment of world politics

Dealignment and NATO

Labour's policy – independent British nuclear disarmament, the expulsion of cruise and US nuclear bases, support for detente in Europe and a reduction in bloc confrontation – holds the seeds of an alternative to Atlanticism. The goals of avoiding nuclear war, reducing cold war tensions, ending current wars and preventing new ones, mean that we must not just seek to reduce dependence on the USA, but break with the logic of bloc confrontation. The alternative we are looking for is a *de*-alignment of world politics. This goes beyond detente – which accepts the logic of the blocs and attempts to make relations between them safer – and sets the dissolution of the bloc system as the long-term goal. It is a policy which turns the idea of non-alignment into an active process.

The fact that Labour is committed to continued membership of NATO does not necessarily rule out dealignment as a policy. That it is *unconditionally* committed to NATO membership, however, does create difficulties, not least in the clarity of its exposition.

In its 1983 report, *Defence Without the Bomb*, the Alternative Defence Commission[1] proposed that continued membership of NATO should be conditional on removing NATO's dependence on nuclear weapons. It set out a phased programme which begins with adoption of a policy of 'no-first-use' of nuclear weapons, moves to the expression of that policy in strategic doctrine, and continues with its enactment in military postures which would have to exclude nuclear weapons from the European theatre. The advantages of the Commission's approach are that it acknowledges that a non-nuclear Britain could not permanently remain in an alliance whose strategy depends on nuclear weapons, and that it offers some leverage for changing NATO's strategy to conventional defence.

On the other hand, the assertion of that leverage could itself increase the pressure on a Labour government. Labour's unconditional commitment to NATO membership might act as something of a shield against such pressure, if it were properly handled, and it might be more convincing to argue it this way, rather than with the bland assurances currently on offer that there simply won't be any such pressure.

At the same time, it is quite possible for a NATO member to operate in a way which reduces the grip of the cold war polarities – and their terrible risks – on politics in Europe and elsewhere. In the different circumstances of Britain in the 1980s, what is sought is comparable to what was achieved in the late 1960s by West Germany's *Ostpolitik*.

Assuming Labour's commitment to NATO membership stands (which seems likely both in opposition and, *a fortiori*, in power), its form needs to be specified. It is first of all a commitment focused on Europe. But it is an approach to western European security which foresees both a shift to conventional defence and the need to make this shift regardless of the continuing possession of nuclear weapons by the superpowers.

On the one hand, this means seeking reciprocal reductions in nuclear forces from the USSR but not making nuclear disarmament in western Europe dependent on them (an approach which the Labour party has, in fact, pioneered – with some success so far). On the other, it means accepting that the USA may remain a nuclear power, but developing agreement in western Europe that its defence policy excludes nuclear weapons. It rejects the use of NATO forces outside the NATO area, and seeks to constrain any US or Soviet propensity to use armed force anywhere.

US pressure and European responses

The USA has faced only one other challenge from a core member of its global alliance system comparable to that which, keeping to its policy, a Labour government here would pose. That was 20 years ago, when President de Gaulle withdrew French forces from NATO command and expelled the NATO HQ together with US forces. That precedent is not altogether alarming. France was not subjected to intolerable pressure and was not shifted from its policy. However, the conditions of the time need comment. The French economy was strong. The action was widely supported in France on a nationalist basis. It was accompanied by a clear focus of continuing French commitment to western Europe. It came at a time when NATO had been in turmoil over nuclear policy (so pressure against it could have had severe consequences for alliance unity) and the USA was getting embroiled in Vietnam. And finally, US policy to the western European allies was then very different from Washington's current insistence on steadfast obedience and mounting anger at even the smallest step out of line.

For a Labour government, the weakness of the domestic British economy is an obvious keypoint of vulnerability, whether pressure is exerted directly by the USA or indirectly via the European Community. Accordingly, the effect of political pressure on Britain can probably be greater than it was on France, even if less than on Greece. To balance such pressures, a Labour government will need both active and passive support from other governments, and a degree of support at home which is wider than its electoral base.

In NATO Europe, potential allies are governments which already reject key aspects of NATO strategy: those which refuse to host them – Norway, Denmark, Greece and Spain. Given their current policies in NATO, active support might seem most likely from Denmark and Greece. That would be significant, but not sufficient. If the SPD were elected in West Germany, even in coalition, some active and more likely a degree of passive support (a refusal to co-operate in US demands to put pressure on Britain) could be forthcoming. It would also be valuable to work diplomatically with countries such as Sweden and Yugoslavia, and with Third World governments seeking an end to the arms race, to widen the constituency of approval and put counter-pressure on the USA in international forums.

the effect of political pressure on Britain can probably be greater than it was on France

Labour's commitment to NATO could confront other western European govern-

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ments with a sharp choice. They would have to decide whether a democratic choice to opt out of nuclear weapons and strategy is acceptable from a state which still fulfills the obligations of the North Atlantic Treaty (which do not, incidentally, include nuclear strategy). If it is, they must insist that Labour can stand by its policy, even if they disagree with it – what might be called the Voltaire solution. If not, then they will destroy the legitimacy of NATO as a system for defence of western European democracy. With even the least favourable line-up of governments in western Europe, several could be virtually forced to choose the Voltaire solution, either because of their own policies, or because of pressure from opposition parties and peace movements.

This would pose further politico-strategic problems for the USA. Governments which choose the Voltaire solution can expect a degree of US pressure. But if there is any significant number of them, such pressure would risk a major, perhaps decisive split in NATO. The key issue would then be whether western European governments were willing to accept the possibility, however small, of a US military withdrawal.

Hitherto, this has been unthinkable to both the USA and its NATO allies. But one result of the fragmentation of the Atlanticist consensus is that it may not now be so unthinkable. If western European governments were prepared to envisage that outcome with a fair degree of calm, Britain's independent course would be reasonably secure. Such a development seems unlikely at this point – though judgement must be reserved because conditions could change very fast – but if even a small possibility exists, then it may act to neutralise US pressure on Britain, or at least reduce it to the level of rhetoric which can be safely ignored.

Labour's strategy

Western European governments deciding what position to take in a dispute between Britain and the USA over British policy will, of course, face diplomatic pressure at least from the USA to choose its side. Therefore, if an active diplomacy by Labour is to work, it will need to find allies not just among other governments, but in public opinion abroad.

This relates to the need of a Labour government to widen the basis of its support within Britain, in the face of pressure from the opposition parties with the exception of important sections of the Liberals, as well as from the press. If its economic policies are successful and popular, it will be better placed to call on public approval for its foreign and security policies. But its most important route to wider public support on these issues lies via the peace movement. Similarly in the rest of western Europe, where social democratic parties in opposition could also be important mobilisers of support, there are several countries in which it is peace movements which will be decisive if public opinion there is to act as a counterweight to US pressure against Britain.

There are two preconditions for this. One is to go public if pressure is exerted by the USA, and explain what role other western European governments are playing. Frankly, we do not know what kind of explicit pressure has been brought to bear over issues such as the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles, Spanish membership of NATO, US bases in Greece. As a result, it is always easy to believe it is cowardice or treachery which explains the inability to implement anti-nuclear policies, or the apparent refusal even to try. Opening up the secret channels of pressure to public scrutiny will of itself weaken their effect. More importantly, it will allow the peace movements to know what is going on.

not everybody in the peace movement will be satisfied that such a programme goes far enough

The second precondition is for Labour to promote a long-term vision of Europe which is, in essence, the same as that of the peace movements. That vision is about reconciliation in Europe as much as disarmament. It is about being an active force for world peace, for non-alignment and democracy in the Third World, as much as it is about avoiding nuclear war in Europe. It is in this vision that the alternative to Atlanticism lies. It is neither Europeanist in the sense of the devotees of the European Community, nor is it Eurocentric. It argues that de-alignment in Europe is important not just for peace and democracy in Europe but worldwide.

Among the many differences between movements and political parties is that, while the former can offer a vision and certain practical items of policy which express it, the latter must weld policies into a political programme and a strategy. For that, both a sense of overall direction is required, and awareness of the practical constraints upon it. If political parties have to understand that the overall direction must express the movements' vision in order to have their committed support (which they need if their programme is to be implemented), for their part movements must understand that in the end a programme and a vision are two different things.

Radicalism and realism

Labour is capable of forging a programme which can garner the support of peace movements in Britain and elsewhere in western Europe. Its lead items include getting rid of British nuclear weapons, expelling US nuclear bases and challenging the nuclear basis of NATO strategy. Outside Europe, they include supporting such refusals of the cold war as New Zealand's ban on nuclear port-visits and Nicaragua's efforts to remain independent and non-aligned, and opposing military interventionism by both the USA and the USSR.

Not everybody in the peace movement will be satisfied that such a programme goes far enough, fast enough, and many will expect key items to be dropped under American pressure. But a consistent attempt to implement it, even if it is well short of wholly successful, deserves the support of peace movements. For if any significant part of it can be put into practice, it will increase the possibility of other governments being able to go as far or even further. And that is one reason why US pressure must be expected and why all possible counterweights to it must be explored and mobilised.

The significance of these issues, therefore, is not small, and much will hang on the extent to which Labour in opposition is able to prepare itself for the real challenges it will face in office. How far it will be able to travel the road marked out by its current policy depends in part on factors outside its control or influence. To an important degree, it depends on its own will and clarity. To a yet greater extent, it depends on how far it can command support among popular movements at home and abroad, and that in turn depends both on how Labour presents and acts on its policy, and on how we respond to it. In a real sense, our work will only be beginning and our hardest tasks will still be ahead of us when a government is elected which is committed to a programme which reflects our vision. □

[1] An independent group set up in 1980 to study non-nuclear options for British defence policy.

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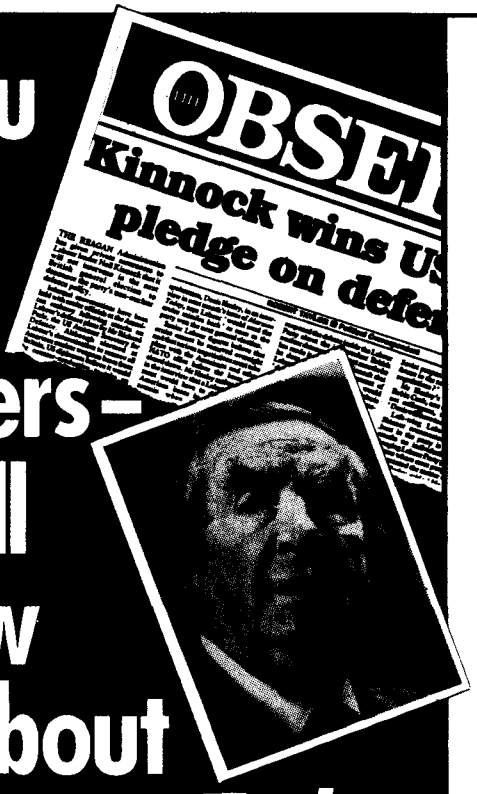

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PUBLIC SECTOR POSSIBILITIES

Robin Murray

There has been a sea-change in attitudes towards public ownership. On the Left it is now given a low priority. It is true the old Morrisonian model is now redundant. But pragmatism is no substitute. We need a new model.

'The choice before the nation is either a vain attempt to patch up the superstructure of a capitalist society in decay at its very foundations, or a rapid advance to a socialist reconstruction of the national life. There is no halfway house between a society based on private ownership of the means of production, with the profit of the few as the measure of success, and a society where public ownership of those means enables the resources of the nation to be deliberately planned for attaining the maximum of general well being.'

This passage was written in 1934 at the height of the last great period of unemployment in this country. It comes from the Labour party national executive's policy document *For Socialism and Peace* which was passed overwhelmingly by the annual conference that year. It summarises a clear alternative economic policy, with a massive extension of public ownership, central planning and an attack on profit.

Though there were disagreements in the party about how to plan, what was not at issue was a definition of capitalism in terms of private ownership and the rule of profit, and a definition of socialism in terms of public ownership and the rule of the plan. Nor was it doubted that it was the state, and more particularly the nation state, which was the key instrument in this transformation. In this there were strong parallels to the economics of the Third International: ownership, central planning, statism and the national economy. The Webbs and Stalin had more than a little in common.

The Attlee government carried through this model, with a self-confident programme of nationalisation. What was striking about the programme was how relatively uncontroversial it was, until it came to steel, road haulage and sugar. Of the measures that were taken, almost all had been recommended by independent commissions set up by Tory governments.

Forty years on all this has changed. Freedom and fairness have replaced social ownership and planning as the touchstones of Labour policy. Thatcher's assault on social ownership through council house sales, privatisation and the encouragement of individual share ownership have put Labour on the defensive. While co-ops and municipal enterprise are supported, they are seen as marginal to the main business. Renationalisation is in danger of being pushed down in the list of priorities.

The lines are being redrawn in that shadowy zone between the private ownership of one's socks and the public ownership of the electricity grid. In the 30s there was a clear commitment to extend the frontier of public ownership. Now the movement is, if anything, the other way. Where once there was a theoretical confidence, there is now uncertainty. As a result, ownership (of any kind) has been made of secondary importance in the definition of socialism. The emphasis has shifted to results: to full employment, more equality, and a variety of commodities. Public ownership has been uncoupled from these, and indeed, in the eyes of some, is seen as detrimental to them.

the Webbs and Stalin had more than a little in common

A deep shift

There are a number of factors which underlie this deep shift in intellectual climate:

- workers and users have too often experienced the state as oppressive, as a capitalist state, in its methods of management, as much as in some of its priorities.
- economic planning has been grossly inadequate within many public sectors (such as transport and energy), let alone between them. In addition the public corporate planning which does take place has been notably undemocratic.
- the increasing pace of innovation in contemporary capitalism has put a premium on creative organisation, at a time when public bureaucracies are still taking on board private managerial systems of the 1960s.
- profit has increasingly been seen as an instrument for innovation rather than a class revenue. Considerations of production have come to dominate ones of distribution.
- the market and the laws of capital accumulation – reflecting as they do this continuous process of innovation – have seemed to swamp the significance of ownership; co-operatives and public firms are hedged round by the same imperatives that bear on private firms; even whole socialist economies are drawn into the logic, with Poland and its very life blood pawned to international banks because of the country's dependence on Western technology.
- private capital – redirecting its attention to the new commanding heights of technology and marketing – has at times withdrawn from particular sectors, leaving them to the state. Certain primary producing multinationals, for example, have sold their property rights to Third World governments, and reasserted their control on the sector through technology and sales agreements. Machinery suppliers have often found state enterprises softer customers than private ones. In short, nationalisation has been functional for capital.
- the growth of multinationals and the international division of labour within them has meant that the nationalisation of, say, IBM's keyboard plant makes no sense, particularly if IBM have a back-up plant abroad.

In the face of these experiences it is simply not enough to reaffirm the consensus positions of the 1930s. But nor is it enough to acknowledge the vestiges of the Labour tradition with support for co-ops and municipal enterprise, while leaving the main terrain of the economy to private capital and the market.

Three reasons

There are three main reasons why social ownership is still important. The first is the same micro-economic reason which

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underlay the nationalisations of the Attlee period. In a number of sectors with fragmented ownership, it makes economic sense to restructure the industry as a single unit. These are the so-called natural monopolies, in energy, telecommunications and transport. Not only do the original arguments still hold good today, there are new industries where similar considerations apply.

Take cable for example. A cable infrastructure is now being laid down in this country with different types of cable, controlled by rival private consortia. In France, on the other hand, a standardised cable is being laid down in all parts of the country by the public authority.

Secondly, there is a macro-economic argument. As things stand there is no sign whatsoever that, given present policies, unemployment will fall. Nor is there any evidence from Keynesian experiments elsewhere that reflating demand and lowering the exchange rate will, by themselves, solve the unemployment problem. The deindustrialisation which has taken place in Britain over the last decade, means that a boost in public spending will increase imports, unless a major programme of industrial investment and restructuring takes place at the same time. Whether we are talking of the machine tool industry, or of furniture and clothing, this programme would have to be publicly planned, and built round a number of public enterprise and joint venture initiatives.

A strategy for full employment would also require the reorganisation and expansion of the existing public economy, not through marginal job-creation schemes which merely constitute a drain on the productive economy, but through investment in areas which expand overall productive potential and which meet wider social needs.

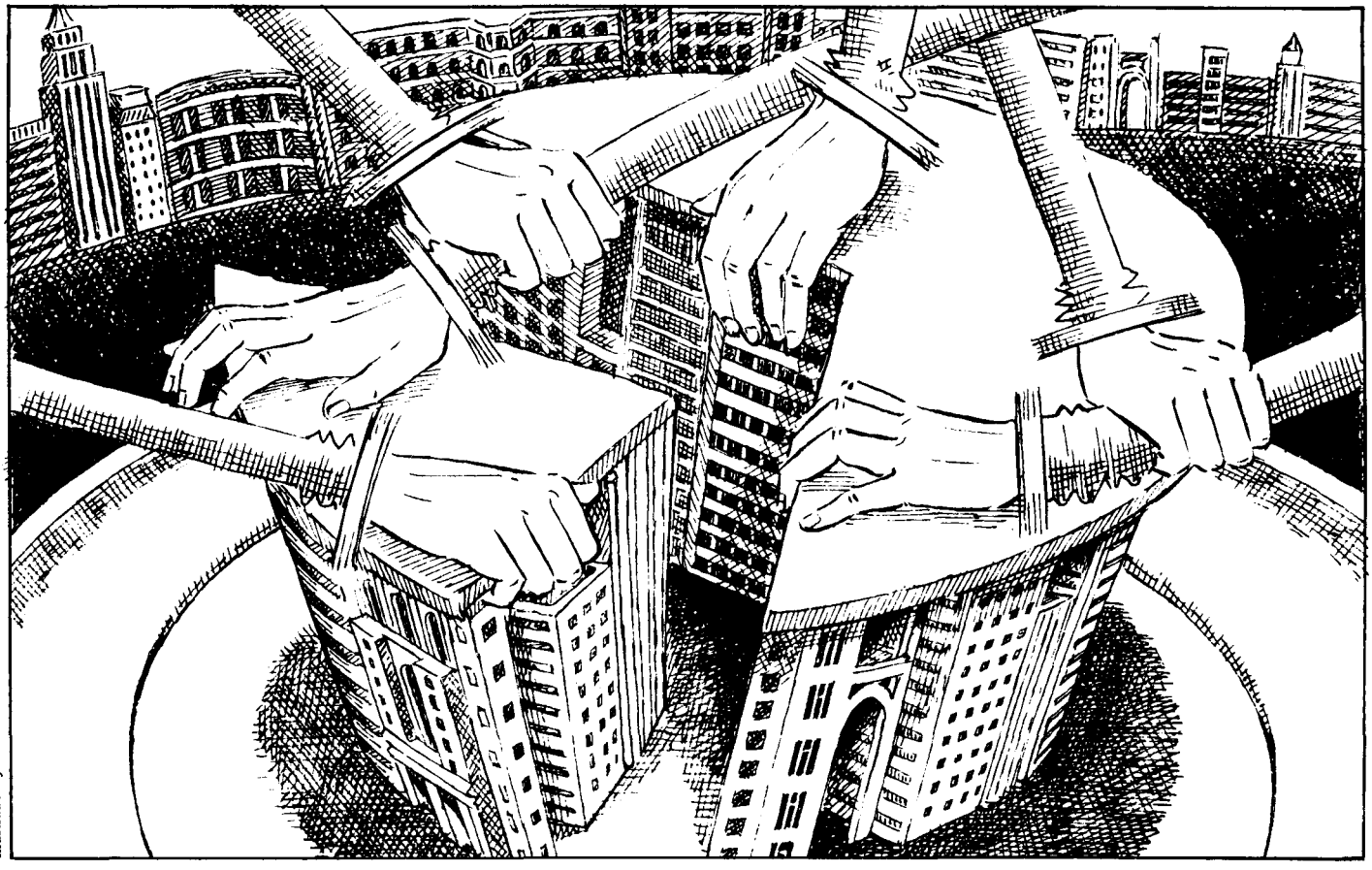
as things stand there is no sign whatsoever that, given present policies, unemployment will fall

Without planning, any such expansion would soon run into acute material difficulties. Already many areas are reporting shortages of skilled building labour. There has been a serious contraction in parts of the building materials supply sector. The cutback or closure of vehicle workshops has restricted capacity for an expansion of rail freight and the replacement of buses. The stock of skilled engineering workers has been severely affected by the government's training policy. The public economy would have to organise the rebirth of these sectors and skills as it did in wartime. In each case the most detailed strategies are required, covering restructuring within the sectors, co-ordination between them, and an extension of selected public enterprise to secure the necessary inputs. The material demands are of that order.

This is the macro-economic case for an extension of the public economy. I have discussed it at length because I believe that a reflationary Labour government relying largely on Keynesianism will run into the same problems that have hit France, and Greece and Australia, unless the most urgent preparations are made for a programme of industrial and public service restructuring.

The social argument

The third argument for public ownership is a social one. Socialist economic policy is about much more than productive efficiency and full employment. It is about wages and conditions, about the fight against discrimination, about the humanising and democratisation of work, and about production for the needs of those who cannot



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pay as well as those who can. It is also about extending the resources and knowledge of this country to help the increasingly devastated economies of the Third World. It is, in short, about distribution and the quality of jobs, and not merely their quantity.

All these aims are difficult enough to achieve in the public economy. In the private economy they are even harder. For one of the functions of the private market is to lower wages and conditions to the levels of worst practise, rather than raising the worst practise to the levels of the best.

The point has been shown starkly in the experience of privatisation. All the monitoring evidence on local authority privatisation has shown how the introduction of the market has led to a worsening of wages and conditions, increased intensity of work, and commonly a decline in the standard of services. Studies of public direct labour organisations in the construction industry compared with the lump labour of the private sector make a similar point, as does the privatisation of cleaning and catering in the health service, or of maintenance work in transport.

In the privatisation of whole services, like British Telecom, or the buses, it is not just the squeeze on labour that is evident, but the reduction of so-called less economic services, like telephone boxes and country bus routes. In these cases the social balance sheet differs from the private one, and measures of regulation and subsidy to correct the market have been inadequate in their effect.

Conventional economists have not denied these consequences of the market. Monetarists, indeed, have used the market as their principal instrument to weaken labour. On the other hand, there is a strand in social-democratic economics which, while opposing the implications of the market, argues that they can be controlled through labour laws, inspectorates, incentives and the trade union movement.

workers and users have too often experienced the state as oppressive

No socialist would question the importance of protective labour legislation. Its significance has been shown up by the consequences of the Thatcher government's policy of dismantling it. Such protection should clearly be restored, and reinforced in other ways: by the use of public purchasing power for example. But attempting to change the social relations at the workplace, the quality of work, or discrimination in employment is like operating through a gauze. However extensive the inspectorate, the initiative always lies with the private firm and the pressures of the market.

The point came out clearly from the Greater London Enterprise Board's experience. GLEB funds were conditional on the firm giving access to trade unions, paying adequate wages and negotiating an enterprise plan with the workforce. These conditions had some effect, particularly in strengthening trade unions. But it proved very difficult to make enterprise planning effective in the private firms. It was only in the GLEB controlled firms that enterprise planning made more progress, and even in those it needed time and resources, and was always faced with the counter pressures of the market. What we can conclude from GLEB's first three years, is that social control, whether through co-ops or

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municipal enterprise, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for achieving the social goals of alternative production.

A new model of social ownership

For these three reasons – micro-economic, macro-economic and social – there is a need to retain and extend the public sector.

the new public economy must be non-metropolitan

The experience of the postwar state should not lead the labour movement to abandon the commitment to social ownership, nor to believe that socialist ends can be achieved by indirect influences on private capital. Instead what is needed is a new approach, one that aims to avoid the pitfalls of the Morrisonian model.

Firstly, we need to foster a pluralist public sector. This goes against the basic tenets of public administration, which favour unitary government: a place for everything and everything in its place. Each layer of government, each department should stick to its job. Duplication must be avoided. For example, present Labour plans for economic agencies include a National Investment Bank and a British Enterprise Board.

But the scale of the restructuring required suggests that instead of a single enterprise board there should be many: sectoral enterprise boards with the ability to expand, and compete with other enterprise boards, along a commercial seam; regionally based enterprise boards, with the power to expand nationally and internationally when this makes commercial sense. In this as in many other fields the public sector needs to create many points of social and productive creativity. It should be ready to accept competition *within* the public sector as a limit to the effects of public monopoly, and judged against social as well as commercial criteria.

Secondly, there should be an expansion of the 'grant economy' to encourage social and organisational initiatives in the economic sphere. The GLC greatly increased the use of grants to voluntary organisations to carry out functions which might otherwise have been carried out by an expansion of the GLC itself. In doing so it financed innumerable points of initiative, each with their management committees and constituencies, drawing many more people into public provision than would otherwise have been the case.

The grant programmes for women's groups, black groups, welfare rights, trade union support groups and such like are well known. But grants were also given to innovative groups in sectors dominated by byzantine public sector organisations. In the case of BT the support went to trade unionists working on alternative plans for a renationalised BT. In that of the NHS, the aim was to support groups, inside and outside the NHS, who were offering services with an alternative or preventative focus. In the field of broadcasting, where the BBC has been particularly resistant to new waves of popular culture, investments were made to strengthen alternative distribution systems for records, video, black publishing, and so on.

On this model there should be national and local funds for initiatives to democratise the public, voluntary and co-operative economies: funds for enterprise planning, for work against discrimination, for strategic planning by users and workers, for new systems of working time and retraining, for the development and application of human-centred technology, and for new initiatives in service provision inside and outside existing public organisations.

A new type of manager

Thirdly, the Morrisonian model must be further cracked open by increasing democratic accountability at all levels, and all that goes with such accountability – information, argument, awkwardness, lobbying. Democracy in this context is not just liberally good, but is a form of productive discipline, a point ignored by those successive independent commissions which recommend greater centralisation and insulation from direct democracy on grounds of technical economies of scale.

In cities like London, as in smaller towns like Brighton, public sector employment is nearly a third of total employment, but much of it is outside the orbit of influence or information of elected councillors, citizens, or even in some cases the industry's own trade unionists. Local and regional councils, as well as parliament, should be given much greater control over the public utilities, over the water boards, over the health service, over airport and seaport authorities and so on. Unions, too, and user organisations, should have much greater access to information, resources to analyse it, seats on boards and where appropriate stakes in control to argue their case.

Fourthly, at the same time as diversifying power, innovation and operational control, the public economy needs to be more integrated. Public corporations take decisions on location and employment which go directly against regional or inner city policies. Many departments, for example those of transport and energy, pursue policies directly contrary to the interest of the Department of Health. Or take public purchasing. The state is a massive purchaser. But there is little if any co-ordination between those who purchase for the NHS, the CEGB, local councils, or the army. There is no central information on how much the public sector purchases from GEC, or IBM, or STC, or General Motors. The state therefore loses a key instrument of bargaining power with these firms. It is also unable to encourage greater self-sufficiency within the state sector itself.

Fifthly, a new public sector needs a new type of manager, with the capacity of running a creative enterprise, and the imagination to develop alternative social relations within the workplace. A Labour government should immediately fund 20 centres of public management, in response to bids by existing institutions – whether Ruskin, Northern College, or the London Business School. They should be sited in the target areas for public intervention, the new towns, Clydeside, Middlesbrough, Newbury, and linked into the honeycomb of enterprise boards and publicly supported firms.

Sixthly, restrictions should be removed from public services competing in the market. Why should the Manchester school meals service not open a chain of fast food outlets, based on wholesome food and proper wages? Why should Sheffield's direct labour organisation not tender for major private sector construction projects in Birmingham? Why should it not take over an ailing brick firm, turn it round and operate it commercially on the public and private market? Why should public libraries not enter the new private data markets like Reuters and the Financial Times? In

a new public sector needs a new type of manager, with the capacity of running a creative enterprise

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each case, where they promote progressive employment practises, they should not have to earn commercial rates of return over and above interest on borrowed capital, since the finance they use is not capital demanding self-expansion. It is a social fund geared to meeting needs.

A non-metropolitan public economy

Seventhly, there is a need to increase public control and information over the large private firms. The long-standing proposal to take public shares in companies receiving public grants and loans is one means. Another would be to fund public pensions from the exchequer and take over the stakes in private companies currently held by the public pension funds. In many companies this would give a 20-30% public shareholding, which could be used to link these companies into strategic restructuring and industrial democracy programmes.

Eighthly, a strategy of public control is required with respect to multinationals. The degree to which they have forced down rates of corporate taxation (net of subsidy) through playing off one country against another, is still underrated. So is the extent of their transfer pricing and transfer accounting, their power to shift production and investment in the face of a strong labour movement, their leaching of independent production capacity therefore limiting the scope for social control capable of being exercised by a national union and a nation state. Some governments have responded by developing their own alternative public multinationals (Zambia, for example). In other cases, where the scope for independent local production is limited, the national state and the trade unions should combine

socialism . . . has to match capital's capacity to innovate, decentralise and restructure

around an alternative investment and employment plan for the multinational.

Ninthly, the technology and know-how of the public economy needs to be made available to meet the needs of the public economies of the Third World. This applies not just to the resources of universities and polytechnics, but to the research and development departments of public corporations, of government research establishments, of local government technical departments and so on. In these institutions there is an enormous resource, both of existing know-how and of technological *capacity*, which at the moment is grossly under-utilised. The experience of the local authority 'technology networks' and the alternative international organisation 'Twin trading' have shown how large is the potential for new forms of technology transfer, from wind power and pedal-powered generators, to pineapple canning factories and international marketing support. What is needed is a further opening up of public technological resources and working capital funds to finance prototypes and initial machinery purchase.

Lastly, the new public economy must be non-metropolitan. In Britain power has always been concentrated in London. The opening up of the state, its democratisation and diversification also means shifting power from London. Regional and local enterprise boards will be one part of this. So will greater local control of public utilities and services, and the local contribution to their national strategies.

But should not the National Investment Bank be located in Merseyside, together with some of the sectoral enterprise boards? Should not the main planning and sectoral staff of the DTI and NEDO move up to further strengthen the complex? Until now government decentralisation has been largely of routine work, DHSS to Newcastle, motor licensing to Swansea. What needs to happen is to shift to the North, to Wales and Scotland new poles of political, economic and cultural power.

A shift in style and substance

The above ten-point plan indicates an approach to the new public economy. They should be added to, and can be put in other ways. But an approach of this sort is, I think, necessary if we are to win back the public sector and all that it stands for. There is a confidence among the Tories, most recently exhibited by David Howell, that Thatcherism has shifted back the frontiers of the state in an irreversible way. Our reply must be in terms of a new model.

Renationalisation must break with Morrisonian forms. The internal administrative and cultural revolutions which have taken place in so many local councils need to be consolidated and extended in other spheres. And in the industrial field, public sector companies, co-operatives, and funding institutions must be given the means and scope to compete with the private sector. We must break through the limit which restricts the operation of local government initiatives to the administrative area in which they are based (whether locality or country). The Bank of Scotland is now an international bank. If necessary, a Scottish Enterprise Board should spread likewise.

Capitalism is a form of decentralised economic power, innovation, and ruthless restructuring. It was these characteristics which allowed it to grow within the womb of feudalism, even while state power still resided in feudal hands. If socialism is to

a quite new form of state is required, one of diversity and openness

grow as insistently within the womb of capitalism, it has to match capital's capacity to innovate, decentralise and restructure, but direct that to the social ends and to the new social relations private capital quite patently cannot do. The stakes around public ownership are of that order.

Trotsky used to advise Soviet planners to measure their advance by comparing Soviet production against the catalogues of international capitalist prices. We should use wider criteria, but maintain the comparisons: of the Co-op against Sainsbury's, of British Leyland against General Motors, of a sausage and chip school meals service against Sutcliffe's.

There is a competition between social enterprise and private capital, one which a progressive government, local or national, can influence but cannot abolish. In this country public enterprise has been pushed back. But the case for its extension remains if anything even stronger than it was in the 1930s. That case has to be demonstrated, in practice as much as in argument. For that a quite new form of state and social enterprise is required, one of diversity and openness, encouraging risk-taking and creativity rather than the avoidance of mistakes.

Labour councils have been experimenting with these new forms, in providing services and in industrial intervention. What is needed is for the Labour party nationally to take up this cause, to reassert our social goals against the market, and show, by a major shift in both style and substance, that it is possible to win back popular support for a radical reforming state. □

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Homage to the Civil War

This month marks the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. The war was a heroic chapter in the history of the European Left. It ended in bitter defeat in Spain but subsequently contributed considerably to the defeat of fascism in the second world war.

Manuel Azcarate

AN ATTEMPT to analyse the historic impact of the Spanish civil war means distinguishing between two aspects: the strictly national situation, and the international context in which the war took place and on which it had a certain influence.

Spain had made a historic breakthrough in 1931 with the victory of the republic; apart from some brief periods, it was the first time a democratic regime had been established, a government of the bourgeois republican parties and the Socialist party. It sought to modernise a country which was very backward compared to the rest of Europe, with agriculture largely based on estates of feudal origin; a high concentration of banking and industrial power among a few families of the aristocracy; a church with a stranglehold over ideology; an army that was accustomed to mediate in political power.

The moderate republican project was a failure, above all because the most obscurantist and reactionary classes, who had retained enormous power within the state and its military and economic apparatus, created constant obstacles to the functioning of democracy. They opted for a military coup d'etat to overthrow the republic.

The evolution of the situation inside Spain rapidly became embroiled in the problem that was in large measure to determine the history of Europe at this stage; the rise of fascism, and more precisely the entry of Hitler to power in 1933. While in much of Europe fascism advanced with relative facility, Spain experienced a polarisation of social and political forces: the workers' and republican organisations saw that international fascism identified with Spanish reaction; and the generals preparing their coup found support in Rome and Berlin, support which was soon to take the form of planes, tanks and troops for the war against the Spanish people.

The fight against fascism profoundly radicalised Spanish democracy; in February 1936, the Popular Front won the elections. General Franco's military coup erupted in July of that year. To defend the republic, and lacking a regular army, the people took up arms and wrote an extraordinary chapter which aroused the admiration of democratic public opinion the world over; and whose memory has not been erased. The war lasted until 1939 and ended in the defeat of the republic and the installation of General Franco's dictatorship.

Three innovations

The thesis that the Spanish war was the first battle of the second world war has been defended by outstanding historians and I think it is supported by sensible arguments. Between the end of the former in April 1939 and the outbreak of the latter in September very little time elapsed. The chronological link is obvious. But there is another aspect of enormous interest that has been less analysed: how the ground had been prepared by the experience of the Spanish war for a series of political and ideological innovations without which a successful war against Hitlerism would have been impossible.

I will emphasise three points in this context. Firstly, there was the alliance in the armed struggle against fascism of socialists and communists, and even bourgeois democratic parties. Now the governments of republican Spain prefigured this in their very composition:

The Fifteenth Battalion of the International Brigade distinguished itself many times in action. They led the successful attack on the infamous Hill 481 in July 1938, suffering many casualties.

THE BRITISH DIMENSION

Immediately after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in July 1936, the British people responded with aid for the Popular Front government. Medical supplies were the first to go, followed by the volunteer soldiers of the International Brigades. In all 2100 men fought in Spain, despite the Tory government of the time making it illegal to do so; 526 paid with their lives. At home, thousands more were involved in raising funds, and campaigning against the policy of non-intervention pursued by the British and French governments. Support for the latter ranged from Conservative MPs like the Duchess of Atholl and later Winston Churchill, then the Young Conservative Edward Heath, Liberal MP Wilfred Roberts, writers like W H Auden and Stephen Spender to many Labour MPs and the Communist party. Although Spain fell, the words of Dolores Ibarruri, La Passionaria, to the International Brigades are a fitting epitaph: 'You can go proudly. You are history. You are legend.'

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Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist party, made frequent visits to Spain during the war and here addresses the International Brigade. The Communist party was extremely active in raising support for Spain and opposing the government's stance of non-intervention.

A Medical Aid committee was set up by Isobel Brown and others as soon as the war began, eventually raising over £250,000. 180 men and women went to Spain as medical volunteers, some of whom are seen above.

STEPNEY ANTIFASCISTS IN SPAIN
NAT COHEN
SAM MARSTERS
A GROUP OF BRITISH ANTI-FACISTS IN THE "TOM MANN" CENTURIA.
IN THE FRONT LINE
DEFENDING DEMOCRACY AGAINST FASCISM.

Stepney anti-fascists Nat Cohen and Sam Marsters were on a cycling holiday in France when the war broke out. They cycled into Spain and founded the first volunteer Brigade, named after Tom Mann, a foundation member of the Communist party.

These are some of the 4,000 Basque children who came to this country as refugees. Some of the older children had been involved in the fighting themselves and many were orphaned by the war. The children were allocated according to the political parties' respective strengths in the Basque region, so there were even some children from fascist families among them.

Compiled by Nicholas Mirzoeff.

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socialists (who assumed leadership of the government), Communists and republicans. Such governments had never before existed in history. At the same time, at an international level, the republican cause was the reason for joint meetings of the Socialist International and the Communist International in the French town of Annemasse near Geneva. Nothing comparable had taken place since 1920. They were fruitless, undoubtedly; but they reflected a unifying trend among the masses which

the fight against fascism profoundly radicalised Spanish democracy

soon was to express itself in very diverse ways during the second world war.

Secondly, the experience of religion was a deeply negative one for the republic; with the Vatican's support, Franco presented the war as a 'crusade' in religion's defence. Sectarian anti-clericism on the Left made this ideological operation all the easier. Nevertheless the Basque country was an exception: in the Basque government during the war, and even in the republican government as an expression of this Basque reality, were to be found socialist ministers, communist ministers and Catholic ministers of the Basque Nationalist party (PNV). At the fronts in Eusakdi, fighters of all these parties fought as brothers against the common fascist enemy. Never in history had such an alliance been produced.

International weakness the key

Thirdly, there was the relationship of intellectuals to politics. There is no doubt that the Spanish war was a decisive factor in making the leading lights in literature, art and even science identify themselves as fighters in a political cause. This was the case in Spain; but in a general way, and to an impressive degree, it was also the case internationally. In the direct struggle of the International Brigades, and otherwise in movements of solidarity with the Spanish republic, we find the names of nearly all the intellectuals of the 1930s. Artists who had hitherto defended a creativity that remained apart from a direct commitment with history, were changed by the impact of the Spanish war.

Thus began the crystallisation of what was to be one of the most singular features of the war against Hitlerism; it was neither a war for a political ideal, nor a national war; what was at stake was the fate of humanity, and therefore the intellectual had, as such, to take sides. This human, moral basis to the fight against fascism is what could justify the Nuremberg tribunal in sentencing Hitler's leaders. Such a tribunal could not be conceived, for example, at the end of the first world war. In short, I believe that the Spanish war was decisive in giving a sense of 'metapolitical', moral obligation to many peoples.

It has been frequently argued that the very breadth of the republican governments, the inevitable divisions, was the fundamental factor in their defeat. I think this is a partial view of the situation. The divisions were the inevitable price of a struggle in which the most varied forces participated. But in reality, international factors, above all the *intervention* of Hitler and Mussolini and the '*non*-intervention' of the Western democracies, which amounted to strangling the republic, placed the Spanish people at an almost permanent disadvantage. And this weakness, this prospect of defeat, was the main stimulus aggravating the inevitable internal contradictions.

The Soviet factor

During the war years, the USSR was the only country, with Mexico, which gave military help to the republic. This gave it enormous prestige among the Spanish people and in general among the people of the world, which it undoubtedly deserved. But certain subsequent experiences demand that one registers two reservations; after the shameful Munich agreement in which the Western democracies capitulated to Hitler, Stalin directed his efforts towards concluding a pact with Hitler, and Soviet aid to the Spanish republic subsequently declined considerably.

The other problem concerned the serious consequences of the stalinist repression. 1936 was the year of the trials in which Stalin liquidated some of the best leaders of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, to impose his implacable and dictatorial power. The Communist International imposed on all the parties, and naturally also on the Spanish party, the thesis that the trotskyists were traitors and agents of fascism.

This had very negative consequences for the struggle of the Spanish people; repression was unleashed against the trotskyists and serious divisions were created between Communists and other left forces, including trade unionists, anarchists and left Socialists. This weakened the struggle of the people. The Communist International, while it possessed an extraordinary capacity to mobilise across frontiers, was used to subordinate the communist parties to the interests of a *state*, the USSR. The consequences were so serious that they could even negate – as Rosa Luxemburg had already intimated in 1920 – the essence of the socialist cause.

A school of the future

The impact of the Spanish war was felt most directly by the resistance movements which developed in Europe against Hitler's occupation between 1940 and 1945, and which played a by no means negligible role in the allied military victory. The anti-fascist resistance also had a more lasting influence in the new democratic structures that emerged in France, Italy and elsewhere. They were democracies where the trade unions and workers' parties had more weight, where economic and social reform brought a certain redistribution of national income towards the more exploited strata, thanks to social security and other advances, propelled by a greater combativity on the part of the masses. The Spanish war was the school in which hundreds of leaders of the anti-Hitler resistance in Europe received their political, military and moral training. In Yugoslavia, many of Tito's closest collaborators in the partisan war had fought in Spain. I recall a visit to Belgrade at a point when the defence minister, head of the chiefs of staff and head of the navy were all former combatants in Spain. They were known as 'the Spaniards' and their role in the creation of the new Yugoslavia is indisputable.

To a lesser degree, there are similar cases in Poland and France. Colonel Rol-

the impact of the Spanish war was felt most directly by the resistance movements which developed in Europe

Tanguy, who accepted the surrender of the Germans in Paris alongside General Leclerc, was a veteran of the Spanish war. But the most singular case is perhaps that of Italy. Luigi Longo, one of the triumvirate in charge of the International Brigades in Spain, went on to become head of the guerrilla army in the North of Italy; many other Italian Communists followed a similar path. But there is a more directly political factor which it is worth underlining. Longo was at the same time one of the top leaders of the Italian Communist par-

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ty, and became its general secretary after the death of Togliatti.

Even more significant was the fact that Palmiro Togliatti was himself the Communist International's delegate to Spain during the war, and the person who really elaborated and directed the policies of the Communist party in that decisive period. Togliatti explained on various occasions that the highly specific conditions of the war in Spain, with the Communists in a coalition government and wartime allies of other forces of the most disparate ideologies, helped him, and to an extent obliged him, to modify the schema that had hitherto been considered sacrosanct within the Communist International.

The concept of the 'party of a new kind' which Togliatti launched on his arrival in Italy in 1944, and which provoked some considerable scandal in quite a few quarters, relied heavily, as he himself acknowledged, on his own experience of the war in Spain.This is an interesting fact, above all bearing in mind the long and complex effort of the PCI to overcome the heavy burden of unreality, dogmatism, and submission to a foreign model which has borne down so heavily on communist parties. With the inherent limitations of the period in which he lived, Togliatti, from his work in Spain to the 'Yalta memorandum', was a crucial driving force behind this effort.

Spain today

In Spain itself, it is difficult to explore the factors of continuity inherited from the war of 1936-39. The workers' and people's movement and progressive culture were wiped off the map with unimaginable savagery. The survival of the Franco dictatorship throughout almost 40 years has forced the new culture of the Left to seek its roots much more in current problems than in the memory of the war. Among the masses it is the horror of the civil war that predominates, the idea that such a thing must happen *never again*. This could lead to even some of the democratic and revolutionary values which found their highest expression in the Spanish war being rejected somewhat too easily even by broad sectors of the modern Spanish Left. The war is, in Spain, an historic fact, in which the outstanding features are the negative ones. The result, unjustly, could be that the values of a democratic and revolutionary political culture are forgotten, finding more resonance in other European countries than in Spain itself. □

Translated by Noll Scott.

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Letters

UNPOPULAR PERCEPTIONS

It was alarming to witness Richard Kinsey's reliance (*MT* May) on people's experiences and perceptions of crime and policing (as if these were never contradictory), and on greater police effectiveness (as if this was unproblematic), as key components in a socialist strategy in this area.

You would not imagine reading this article, nor reading the survey reports themselves, that findings based *solely* on questionnaire-based interviews ought to be treated with a degree of caution. Such caution is especially necessary when the findings themselves are far from straightforward – something Kinsey's readings of his (and the Islington survey) evidence serves to obscure.

The idea that police effectiveness could be improved simply by focusing on the public's supposed crime priorities and spending more time interviewing witnesses and suspects in connection with particular crimes, appears disarmingly simple. It is, unfortunately, simplistic. Quite aside from the fact that neither police numbers nor particular activities appear to bear much relationship to the clear-up rate beyond a certain bedrock of effectiveness, the difficult truth is that more effective crime control has implications for civil liberties which are not adequately dealt with by insisting that we need a 'reformed legal framework . . . which guarantees . . . civil liberties', internal reorganisation and 'greater external control over the police' *as well.*

Tony Jefferson, Sheffield

NEW HIPPIES

Simon Frith and John Street (*MT* June) dismiss the rock underground as 'clearly ridiculous' in the new context.

This may be a premature observation. The government has helped create young 'new era' hippies, many from working class backgrounds. Reconstructed, realigned '60s types may now be pillars of threatened municipal socialism but the new hippies are a different kettle of fish. Victorian economic policies have produced 'mediaeval brigands'.

The Stonehenge '86 summer solstice convoy represents, in many ways, a new movement. Sharing similar experiences with state agencies as black inner-city youth, miners' families, print workers and the women's peace camps, counter-culture is being revitalised.

This is not just nostalgia. The CND festival at Glastonbury this year is timely, with its wide range of music and performers, popular and classical. With these vibes and 'Spirit In The Sky' 'signs' for the hippies, punks and fellow travellers are good!

It is not surprising that movements away from an 'edge of darkness' are now part of national and spiritual aspirations. With some of these aspirations being represented by Britain's ancient monuments, there is a struggle going on for the meaning of 'national heritage'. The Left would do well to consider this.

Mike Weller, Penge

GOLLAN BIOGRAPHY

I am collecting material with a view to writing a biography of John Gollan, who was general secretary of the Communist party from 1956 to 1975.

Among your readers may well be people who remember him from the thirties, when he was secretary of the Young Communist League; or later, when he worked in the North-East of England and in Scotland.

I should be grateful to anyone who could lend me letters or leaflets (these would be copied and returned without delay) or who would be willing to meet me to contribute oral reminiscences.

I can be contacted at Berry Lane Corner, Aspley Guise, Milton Keynes, MK17 8HZ.

Margot Kettle, Milton Keynes

UNFORTUNATE PLEASURE

In tarring me with being an intolerant conflict hater for criticising macho images of sport, Nellie Henderson (Letters, *MT* June). reveals an unfortunate pleasure in *Daily Express* style sterotypes. No doubt, her composite image of myself is as a dungaree-clad radical feminist hot from Greenham Common.

Actually, I am a man who sees no excuse for the Left carelessly reinforcing right wing views of the world, and more particularly its sport and leisure time. There are certainly conflicts in sport for all of us but they are about criticising elite competition and making sport accessible and open to mass participation.

What can only hinder us are sexist sterotypes in no way conveying the concerns of the Left.

Hilary Barnard, London

RELEVANT LIVES

Contrary to Eileen Phillips (*MT* June), I did not make the ludicrous suggestion that social anthropology obliterated my class. In so far as there was an 'investigation', it was of the oppressors of a minority.

Phillips asserts that a writer's life should be kept separate from any understanding of her work. Yet de Beauvoir's work included six volumes of autobiography whose significance Anne Oakley's article beautifully illustrates. If (auto) biography is irrelevant, why did Phillips have to tell us that she herself is related to someone who married into the ruling classes?

Judith Okely, University of Essex

UNEQUAL AID

It's about time we had a socialist perspective on development (Aid Crusade, *MT* June). Butwhat *is* a socialist perspective? Five years' experience in the development movement has led us to believe that what we need is a change in the concept of charity and aid.

Although some charities produce some (very good) educational material, their fundraising techniques are more often than not racist. Image after image of starving Africans serve to appeal to our emotions, not our brains. They say nothing about the causes of famine, especially underdevelopment by the West, and subsequently blame the victims themselves, by default. As if this wasn't bad enough, they also tend to hide the fact that Third World people themselves are organising to fight famine. The 'Images of Africa' entry in the Women Alive programme reads: 'Presenting positive images (in contrast to Live Aid and the Sunday supplements) is a part of fighting the racism and imperialism facing Afro-Caribbean and African women'.

A socialist perspective, if it is to be anti-racist, must challenge this ideology of aid, and begin to redefine it as the repayment, between equals, of a long overdue debt arising from our imperialist plunder. Maybe a mass campaign combining fundraising and education would have been a better idea?

J Legg and A Patel, Glasgow

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VIEWPOINT

Defending and Disarming

The publication of the report of the Joint Commission on Defence and Disarmament has provoked a fierce argument within the Alliance. The dispute has centred around the future of Polaris and whether, or not, Britain should remain a nuclear weapon state. The position ultimately adopted by the Alliance on defence will have important consequences for the future of defence policy, including that of a Labour government. Below, Paddy Ashdown, Liberal MP and member of the Joint Commission on Defence and Disarmament, and Neville Pressley, a member of the Council for Social Democracy and CND executive, outline their views.

PADDY ASHDOWN
A view from the Liberals

It may be useful to locate the Joint Commission on Defence and Disarmament within the policy-making processes of the Alliance parties and to say something about its political importance.

The joint commission is not the authoritative decision-making body that some commentators have made it out to be. The resolution of the joint programme for government will rest with the democratically accountable policy committees and then ultimately with the annual assemblies of both parties. The commission's influence depends entirely upon the extent to which it convinces; its job was not to negotiate away differences but to produce a sensible policy for debate within the two parties. As a starting point it represents a considerable achievement, secured with the help of a number of distinguished advisers.

Democratic parties will inevitably experience difficulties as and when they enter into alliances with others and seek to agree common policy positions; positions which, in our case, have to be distilled into an electoral programme. A delicate balance needs to be arrived at between effective policy-management at the top and our natural and instinctive desire to see the maximum participation of party activists in decision-making. I do not need to tell the Left of the potential problem here. On the whole it has resolved it by opting for the former. We are now in the process of effecting that balance.

The report's major contribution to the defence debate lies in the fact that it provides a defence and disarmament policy which is cohesive, unlike the Tories where the Trident obsession undermines their capacity to fulfil commitments to conventional forces; or Labour, where the promise to remove US bases destroys their declared support for NATO.

It's political importance rests with its ability to take us out of the old divide between 'uni' and 'multi' – lateralism – a split which represents little of meaning in policy terms and which has distorted the debate on disarmament. It recognises that there is a complex interdependence between common and collective security; that peace needs to be achieved within stable relationships; that defence policy needs to be fitted into a wider view of Britain's position in the world and into an analysis of relationships within NATO as well as with other states around the world.

A progressive policy will identify steps towards disarmament within a framework that secures their chances of success. We argue that there is no single golden key to the nuclear conundrum; that disarmament is a process, not a state of affairs; in a world where the first steps to reversing the arms race have proved so difficult to achieve, a programme which identifies a means of making real progress is worth hanging onto.

It is worth detailing some of those steps to disarmament. The report proposes that NATO should adopt a no first-use policy for nuclear weapons. ('We will instruct the commanders of NATO to plan on the basis that nuclear weapons will not be used and should not be required.') It proposes an immediate moritorium on deployment of cruise missiles (no Molesworth). It stands firmly against the manufacturing or stockpiling of chemical weapons. It unequivocally condemns SDI. It supports further confidence-building measures such as the comprehensive test ban treaty and improvements to the ABM treaty. For the first time in British politics, it emphasises disengagement of US and Soviet troiops as an article of disarmament policy.

It is unfortunate that attention has focussed so dramatically upon the issue of Polaris. The argument is really minimal in content. Liberal party policy, decided at Bournemouth in 1984, is to include Polaris within the arms control negotiations. There is no real conflict between that position and going on to say that we are willing to contemplate the possibility of a replacement according to an open and clear set of criteria, which are themselves subject to debate.

The contrast with the secretive way in which previous governments (both Labour and Tory) have approached this issue could not be more obvious. Couple that position with an unbreachable commitment to cancel Trident and we have another positive proposal for disarmament.

It is not often that political parties openly debate their analysis of world developments and the way in which policy positions relate to it. Our anxiety about the US-European relationship and our concern to strengthen the European role in NATO have been noticed. So too, has our view that American troops and bases are here in a NATO capacity and not as part of a unilateral force. This may not turn out to be an ultimate policy. But it is unquestionably a positive contribution to the disarmament debate.

NEVILLE PRESSLEY
A View From the SDP

David Owen's insistence that Britain should remain a nuclear weapon state will dominate the discussions on the Joint Commission report. This will provide a smokescreen to hide other substantial differences that must inevitably exist between parties with such different approaches to defence policy. The Liberal party was never in favour of a British bomb and for this reason became a welcome haven to disarmers disillusioned with Labour poli-

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cy. The SDP's creation owed much, conversely, to the opposition within the Labour party to Britain remaining a nuclear weapon state. It has hardly been surprising that there are major policy differences on Cruise missiles, modernisation of battlefield nuclear weapons and no first-use as well as on the independent nuclear deterrent.

The Alliance provided a perfect opportunity for David Steel to make Liberal policy more 'suitable for government'. Compromise has followed compromise as, under the cold eyes of Owen, any taint of unilateralism has been removed. In 'Uniting for Peace', adopted at the 1984 conference, cruise was going to be removed but Polaris would be included in arms control negotiations. Paddy Ashdown announced the compromise on Cruise. The doctor was pleased with the progress and told his party that more compromises would follow.

The Liberal members of the joint commission, swallowing hard, allowed the report to admit the possibility of a replacement for Polaris. The SDP members, aware of the importance of an agreed policy which would allow the Liberals to at least retain their opposition to Polaris, were prepared to accept an honest fudge.

But not the doctor. He had never encouraged a compromise. Compromises do not go with the conviction politics that he admires. Owen wants Britain to remain a nuclear weapon state. A policy of possibly replacing Polaris means that Britain might not remain one. He will stick to his view. He is not interested in the compromises needed for the two parties to merge. He simply does not like the Liberals' defence policy and compromises on it won't make him like it anymore.

All the debate is centred on the Polaris issue but there is another part of Owen's argument that deserves more serious attention as it exposes the weakness in the Liberal policy that Britain can be non-nuclear whilst sheltering under the American nuclear umbrella. This was a sound enough position in the 50s but as Europe became filled up with nuclear weapons it became less so and once cruise was deployed, it was untenable. Nor is such a position consistent with a positively pro-European policy. The Liberals have been slow to understand, as Owen does, that a long-term policy cannot be based on the American nuclear umbrella.

The most optimistic scenario for European security is that all nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from Europe and that as troop levels are reduced, there is an American withdrawal. In this scenario it would be far preferable for there to be a European retaliatory nuclear capability. Owen, looking forward to the time that Europe will be responsible for its own defence, realises this and argues that Britain should retain its nuclear capability for this time.

There is logic here especially as no policy can be planned on total nuclear disarmament. But the argument for a European nuclear deterrent is a long-term one and Owen links it with his views that Britain should remain a nuclear weapon state, and thus a great power, and that the present system of nuclear deterrence is acceptable. To propose one now sets danger bells ringing. Cruise and Pershing being transferred to European control, Germany becoming a nuclear power, more weapons rather than less. A European nuclear deterrent can only be justified if nuclear weapons have been removed from European soil, the Americans have withdrawn from Europe and the present complex system of deterrence dismantled. If the Alliance parties were wise, this is what they should centre their debate on.

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NO PASARAN!

Liz Wells

During the Spanish civil war new small lightweight cameras, like the Leica and Rolleiflex, facilitated 'action' photography. The photographs offered a previously unknown sense of immediacy. Robert Capa's famous shot of a soldier at the moment of death would not have been taken with more cumbersome equipment.

Despite extensive exposure to war photography and the 'image fatigue' effect, the photographs taken during the civil war in Spain still offer powerful testimony to the strength of a people caught up in mass struggle. In the current exhibition this is emphasised through grouping photographs thematically: refugees, street fighting, the front, etc. We see the brutal consequences of war: mummified bodies of nuns exhumed and displayed in Barcelona; soldiers looting; the ravaged streets of Toledo. We see women soldiers at the front. We see wounded civilians, exhausted refugees. . .

No Pasaran! is a touring exhibition of the work of seven photographers organised by the Arnolfini Gallery in Bristol. Close inspection reveals some important differences in style and subject matter. Clearly everyone visited the front, but Capa and Taro worked there extensively; Centelles is remarkable for portraiture; Seymour became internationally famous for work on civilian daily life during the war.

Catalan photographers Campana and Centelles were immediately involved. Others went to Spain for different reasons, but chose to stay on because of their sympathy with the republican cause. The work was risky. Gerda Taro, one of few women war photographers, left Germany in 1933 only to be killed in action in Spain in 1937.

Soldiers Looting **by Augusti Centelles**

Victim of the Bombing **of Lerida by Augusti Centelles**

Estremadura Front, **1936 by Hans Namuth/ Georg Reisner**

No Pasaran! will be at Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield until August 10. Then it will tour to: The Gallery of Photography, Dublin Sept 29-Oct 25; Newlyn Orion Gallery, Penzance November 1-29 and Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter Jan 31-Feb 28 1987.

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FREEDOM SONGS

Roy Palmer

'If you're frightened, bloody well sing'. The advice was given at the battle of Jarama by Sam Wild to men of the British battalion fighting in Spain for the republic. And sing they did, on the march and at rest, on ceremonial occasions and even in battle.

The war in Spain began 50 years ago, on 18 July 1936, with an attempt by officers of the extreme Right to seize power from the elected centre-left government. It was not so much a civil war in the usual sense as a war between the mass of the Spanish people and the bulk of the army. The insurgents received massive and continuing support in men and material from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. The republican government had some help from the USSR and from foreign volunteers organised mainly in the International Brigades.

Well over 1,500 books in English alone have been written about the Spanish conflict. The part played by songs might seem trivial, but the Spanish war commissariat considered it important enough to publish in 1938 a collection in 16 languages of songs sung by the International Brigaders.

Everybody knew the *International*, which often rang out in several different languages at once. After that, each national contingent had its own repertoire of revolutionary and socialist songs. The British sang *The Red Flag*, the Germans, *Die Rote Fahne*, and the Italians, *Bandiera Rossa*, which were more or less the same in title but quite different in substance.

Marching songs have a special appeal to soldiers, lightening as they do the weary miles. The anti-fascist Germans, many of whom had been living in exile in Spain, had their own specially-written songs. One of these, *United Front*, was written by Berthold Brecht and set to music by Hans Eisler.

John Sommerfield heard the Germans of the famous Thaelmann column singing in Madrid in 1937, and was deeply impressed: 'They marched magnificently, singing one of Eisler's marching songs, their voices loud and beautifully together, the words of the song and the beat of the marching feet all together making one single noise. It was a song they had sung before on demonstrations in Germany. . . . It was the voice of free Germany, and they were singing it again going up the front and knowing better than any of us what they were fighting against'.

One of the German songs, *The Peatbog Soldiers*, was written in 1933 by an unknown prisoner in the Börgermoor concentration camp. At first the Nazi guards tolerated something which seemed apolitical, but the message of hope in the last verse was sung with such gusto that the song was later forbidden. A released prisoner brought it out. In Spain it was passed on, and many British brigaders learned it there.

Anarchist Militiaman and Family **by Augusti Centelles (1936).**

In turn, English speakers contributed songs which were taken up by the Germans, and by others too, including the Spanish – and every battalion of the International Brigades had Spaniards in it. There were versions in several languages of *Hold the Fort*, a union song based on an American hymn. Bob Doyle heard it sung by the British anti-tank squad during the battle of Belchite, and Bill Alexander remembers it to the unlikely accompaniment of recorder and spoons while marching to the cookhouse for meals.

> We'll meet today in freedom's cause and raise
> our voices high;
> We'll join our hands in union strong to battle
> or to die.
> *(Chorus)* Hold the fort for we are coming,
> union men be strong.
> Side by side we battle onward, victory will
> come.

Stern sentiments of this kind were widespread, but there were also humorous songs. In one version of *Casey Jones* the superhuman engine-driver is killed while strike-breaking, then goes to heaven where he scabs on the angels who happen to be on strike. Some of the volunteers had seen service in the first world war, and they took to Spain songs like *Tipperary* and *The Quartermaster Stores*, the latter being likely to appeal to the grousing soldier of any army. The Irish in Spain had songs of their own struggles: *Off to Dublin in the Green* was an IRA remake of a British army recruiting song; *Connolly's Rebel Song* was written by James Connolly, a socialist executed by the British after the 1916 rising in Dublin.

The songs mentioned so far, however, relate to Spain only by having been sung there, but songs specifically about the war quickly emerged. The German political commissar in 1936 was Hans Beimler, one of the few ever to escape from Dachau, and his death in action was commemorated in a fine song by Ernst Busch.

> He had to leave his homeland,
> Because he was a freedom-fighter.
> In Spain's bloody streets,
> For the rights of the poor,
> Died Hans, the commissar.

To strike up a song seemed a quite unremarkable thing to do. J H Bassett recalled: 'One evening, we were sitting along the

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kerb of the main street, waiting for the cinema to open. The men began to sing in every language'. The British, he said, sang: 'We came to sunny Spain to make the people smile again/And to chase the fascist bastards over hill and over plain'.

Perhaps the most famous song in English of the Spanish civil war was *There's a Valley in Spain called Jarama*. The fighting at Jarama went on for several months in 1937 and settled into a routine of trench warfare. The British battalion suffered heavy casualties and, save for a brief respite on 1st May, remained in the line for 73 days. The song was written in the trenches by an ex-regular soldier from Glasgow, Alec or Alex McDade, to the tune of *Red River Valley*, a popular American song of the 1920s and 30s. The words are far removed from the cynicism of most first world war songs, but they nevertheless express a certain war weariness.

> There's a valley in Spain called Jarama,
> That's a place that we all know so well,
> For 'twas there that we wasted our manhood
> And most of our old age as well.

As Bill Alexander says, the song 'was sung in many versions, some ribald, some serious, and was taken over by all the nationalities'. The version which has now become very well known is much more solemn than the original and there have been suggestions that the words were deliberately doctored, yet the revision seems to have been openly done, and intended to enable the song to serve at commemorative meetings, as the last verse makes clear.

All this was of course unknown to the volunteers singing outside the cinema in 1938. Bassett's account continues: 'One tune, in Spanish, everybody sang. When the polyglot army sang *The Crossing of the Ebro* with its plaintive "Ay Manuela, ay Manuela", the shivers ran up and down my spine and I knew that I have found a small place in history'. The song came out of the long and bitter battle of the Ebro in 1938, and was a remake of another piece in praise of the 15th brigade – the one to which the English-speaking battalions belonged.

The British, normally so reticent linguistically, enthusiastically learned songs in Spanish like *Si Me Quieres Escribir* ('If you want to write to me'), *El Quinto Regimiento* (described by Hugh Thomas as 'one of the great revolutionary songs of all time') and *Los Cuatro Generales* (an expression of defiance towards the four insurgent generals, Franco, Mola, Varela and Queipo de Llano) and the sprightly *Viva la Quince Brigada* itself.

The last song was among those sung on the highly emotional parade of the International Brigades when the people of Barcelona turned out to bid them farewell. They were withdrawn at the request of the Spanish government in the vain hope that the gesture would cause Britain and France to abandon the non-intervention policy which starved the republic of arms, and was a major factor in its defeat.

Some 500 men, over a quarter of the British volunteers, died in Spain. Of the rest, only about 200 are still alive. Most look back with great pride: 'I never met any to compare with the International Brigade', said one veteran, Thomas Bloomfield. Mary Brooksbank included this verse in a love song, *The Dundee Lassie:* 'I'm chumming wi' a lassie, they ca' her Jeannie Bain;/She says she'll never marry, her lad got killed in Spain./I often hear her speak about a place they ca' Teruel,/And she is a winder intae Craigie's Mill'.

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AN ATHLETIC FIX

Steve Platt

The athletics world presents two different, but in their own way equally attractive, faces to its public this summer. From the participatory altruism of the Sport Aid extravaganza to the elitist competition of the Commonwealth Games and European championships later in the year, athletics has all the outward appearance of a healthy, popular and rapidly-growing sport. But beneath the surface the process of professionalisation has created new tensions; the amateur-professional divide remains as dogged with difficulty as ever; and the pressures on athletes to succeed have increased in direct proportion to the profits that can be made from their success.

Perhaps the most macabre manifestation of those pressures is one of the artificial performance aids being hawked around the athletics tracks of north America at the moment. A growth hormone extracted from the pituitary glands of human corpses, it sells at around $500 for a three week course, having the advantage over other muscle growth treatments that its use cannot be detected by dope testing. Its popularity among would-be world-beating athletes is such that there is now a shortage of the hormone for medical uses, including the treatment of dwarfism in children.

Nor is it an isolated example of the brave new world of sports medicine. Athletics magazines quite openly advertise the latest performance-boosting chemicals, and Olympic hurdles champion Ed Moses says: 'As an athlete who doesn't use drugs I now consider myself to be in a minority.'

The athletics establishment connives in the continuation of such activity. 'Life' bans for drug-taking (such as that imposed on Martti Vainio, the 10,000m silver medallist at the Los Angeles Olympics) are invariably commuted to just one or two years on appeal (Vainio got 18 months). And the US Olympic committee even announced that it *wouldn't* disqualify athletes who failed dope tests prior to the last Olympics – it merely *warned* them not to repeat the offence at the Olympic Games themselves.

Sir Arthur Gold, who chairs the Sports Council's committee on drug abuse, says that a number of positive dope tests at the 1984 Olympics were 'hushed up'. In a recent interview with *Running* magazine he accused the international athletics authorities of being, 'so concerned with their own image that they are reluctant to let the world know that they have a serpent in their athletic Eden.'

That serpent thrives on the growing commercialism of top flight athletics – which reached a peak during the Los Angeles Olympics, when even the passage of the Olympic flame across the USA was sold to commercial sponsors at $3,000 or more a mile. The reason why so many athletes are prepared to risk their health, as well as flaunt the spirit of 'fair competition', is quite simply that the monetary rewards for success are now so enormous. Quadruple gold medallist Carl Lewis, for example, was offered $1m by Puma just to wear their shoes during the 1984 Olympics (he accepted a bigger, unspecified, offer from Nike).

Even the poorer relations of British athletics can make a mockery of their supposedly 'amateur' status. Sebastian Coe was collecting £20,000 appearance fees at British track events last year (the British Amateur Athletics Board euphemistically calls them 'subventions'), and an attempt to limit this season's maximum fees to £12,000 was recently defeated by top athletes. Foreign competitions and advertising – as Steve Cram and Kellogg's can testify – are even more lucrative.

Where there's money there are parasites, and in athletics there are none healthier than the 'sponsorship consultants'. Of £80,000 obtained from Nike for the privilege of providing the new British team uniforms, for example, Alan Pascoe Associates creamed off £25,000; Mr Pascoe's outfit also retained a remarkable £134,000 from a £250,000 sponsorship deal with Peugeot-Talbot.

At the same time, the appalling hypocrisy of the shamateur pretence is maintained by the persecution of athletes who don't hire agents and business managers, but who *do* make the mistake of entering the wrong race or accepting a small prize for doing well in it. The Northern Counties Amateur Athletics Association (AAA) banned one fell runner last year for winning £2. This year it went one better by barring someone for participating in a training event organised by people who also promote professional runs. Better to take drugs and make millions than compete fairly for a few shillings.

There is, however, an athletics world which is far removed from this perversion of the sporting ideal. The London marathon (with 90,000 applications for entry this year) and Sports Aid's massive 'Run Against Time' at the end of May are only the best-supported end of an enormous upsurge in participatory athletics. Women's and veteran athletics have benefited particularly from the running boom (though women athletes still only get half the training grants of their male counterparts, and leading veteran commentator Sylvester Stein says 'We're still outsiders, homeless, patronised and exploited.') Among people with disabilities, the activities of athletes like multiple sclerosis sufferer Robert Haywood MP, or Peter Hull, a thalidomide victim who competes from his wheelchair despite having neither arms nor legs, are inspirational.

The very individualism of athletics which helped to give the sport its especially elitist (and ultimately self-destructive) nature, has since assisted in its expansion.

Carl Lewis: he was offered $1m by Puma just to wear their shoes during the 1984 Olympics.

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The new breed of athletes, who require only a pair of running shoes and a desire to become fitter than they are, tailor their personal athletic activities and challenges to meet their *individual* abilities or needs. And when they organise together to turn their individual love of the sport to collective account they prove capable of shaking the whole athletics establishment.

An indication of their new-found power has emerged through the opening up of sports centres, clubs and running tracks to the fat and unfit as much as the fast and fanatic. In a more directly political sense, pressure from its members led the AAA to reject a £200,000 sponsorship deal with British Nuclear Fuels.

But the time is ripe for wider action. At least 57 East European athletes are said to have died from drug abuse since the war, while a recent American survey of 100 top athletes found that, given the chance of taking a drug which would make them world champions but kill them within a year, 55 said they would take the drug. The process of professionalisation, and the commercial pressures which increasingly dominate the sport, may kill not only the true spirit of athletics: they may also kill the athletes themselves.

MARKETING MAGGIE

Kathy Myers

Three years ago, Thatcher won the election, and in anticipation of her victory, *Panorama* made *The Marketing Of Maggie* a profile of the Conservative party marketing machine which spun her to power. It stated: 'This election has proved that it's how the party's image is made, sold if you like, which matters as much as policies or personalities'.

Fresh from the Falklands, Thatcher had been groomed into a russet-haired replicant of Boadicea. Her stout frame, business-like manner and 'power' uniform of navy blue and pearls earned her the title 'Iron Lady'. Set on course for her next election victory, she offset the 'U' turn criticism with 'You turn if you want'

Somewhere between a headmistress and a prison governess, she, and the marketing men behind her, goomed the deep authoritative tone, which over the next two years would cut down interviewers and silence the opposition.

Sine then, things have changed. Besieged by criticism for her uncaring image in the face of mass unemployment she's made a calculated decision to come out of the cold. Six months of foul weather, hypothermia and poverty, had, according to the polls and political pundits, enhanced the image of the opposition. Neil Kinnock still kissing babies, David Owen publicly decrying the inhumanity of monitorism, and the high Tories ever restless for the return of a philanthropic age, had islolated her.

Margaret Thatcher: is it too late to change her image?

The first outing for the new improved caring MP came this spring, when Dr Miriam Stoppard, the doyenne of tv social workers, interviewed her in a rosey-tinted studio before millions. And amidst the family reminiscences, tales of Grantham and memories of life as a young working mother, she cried. It came on cue, like clockwork just before the commercial break, little tears for her father who'd worked so hard for the people of the community. Also part of the new personality portfolio was a more attentive listening manner. More smiles, more anecdotes.

The style, successfuly practised on the punters and sycophantic Stoppard, was whipped out again after the Libyan crisis. Returning from her visit to Israel, *Newsnight's* Keith Graves – a tenacious terrier-like man, interviewed her. Gone were the harsh blue suits. Instead she sported a soft silky blonde hair-do, complemented by the country colours of pink, red, sky blue and a rather dashing herring-bone frock. More Women's Institute than management board.

This was a woman whose firmness, 'we must reject terrorism', was tempered with understanding, 'let's try to find a way through, not dissertations on what would and would not be acceptable and how that fits in with philosphy'. She was adamant that she would not 'force' any solutions and that the PLO would 'accept it willingly and would welcome it'. And however unlikely this observation, she concluded by picking up the olive branch of international diplomacy: 'Israel wants security with peace and that's the only sort of peace worth having.'

Nor were these soft touch tactics reserved for the international market. At the recent Conservative women's conference she came out in full matronly regalia, a shot in the arm for motherhood and the provincial heartland: 'Of course some commentators think that it is crudely materialistic to describe the everyday things that families want in the way I am doing. And then they go on to contradict themselves by complaining that not everyone enjoys them! Well, our aim is to spread these good things, and others, more widely.' An iron fist in a velvet glove?

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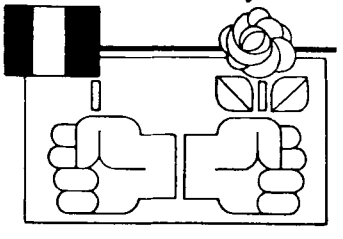

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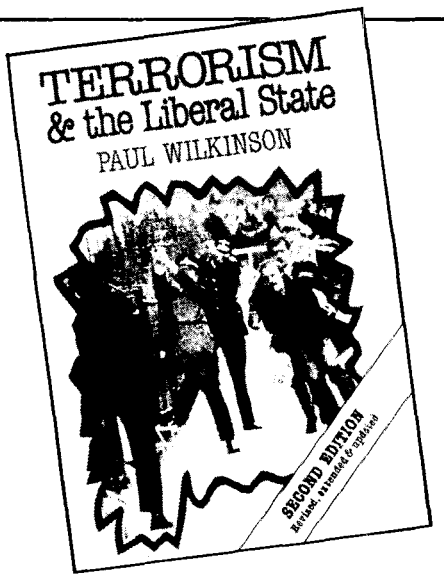


A Lack of Discrimination

Terrorism and the Liberal State
Paul Wilkinson
Macmillan £7.95 pbk.

From Belfast to Beirut terrorist incidents have increased dramatically in the past two decades. In this book Paul Wilkinson sets out to analyse and appraise modern political terrorism from a liberal democratic perspective. It is a pity that he, like the various movements and states which practise or sponsor terrorism, is not more discriminating in the targets he selects for attack.

Liberal democratic theory acknowledges three *prima facie* justifications for political violence: rebellion against despotic regimes which allow no possibility for peaceful internal change; resistance by a minority whose basic rights have been denied by arbitrary government action; and self-defence by a minority facing attack from another minority and left unprotected by the authorities. In liberal democratic states the first condition does not obtain, by definition, and the second and third conditions are rare. However, since only one-fifth of the human race lives in such states, there would still seem to be plenty of scope in the world for legitimate political violence.

At this point the author's cold war ideology takes over. In his eagerness to berate progressives for automatically assuming that every guerrilla and terrorist is fighting for a just and rationally judged cause, he commits the opposite error of construing all irregular armed struggle in Third World countries as undeclared, Soviet-backed war by proxy; aimed ultimately at subverting Western democracy. There *is* a genuine problem of terrorism in the contemporary world. But it is not reducible to East-West geo-political conflict. And terrorist methods are certainly not the prerogative of Soviet bloc clients.

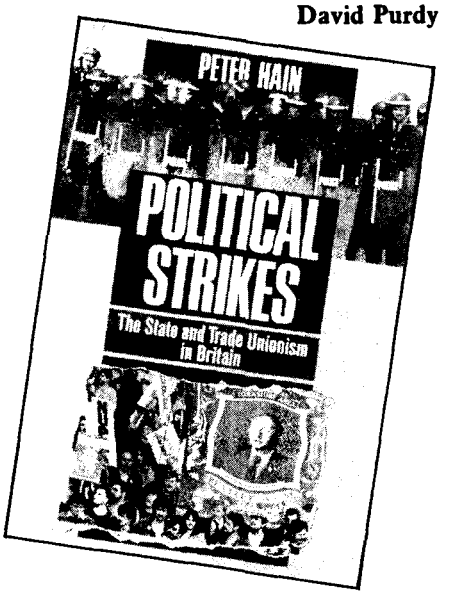
There is another reason for demanding greater precision in the definition of the problem. It is morally obtuse to lump together, say, Bakunin's Anarchist International with the Baader Meinhof gang, or the Vietcong with Islamic Jihad, as so many variants on the terrorist theme. Whatever one thinks about the diverse strategic goals of such movements, it is important to insist on a crucial distinction regarding the means they use. A policy of assassinating government officials deemed to be agents of oppressive regimes is morally different from indiscriminate slaughter. The classical revolutionary distinction between officials and citizens parallels the right of non-combatant immunity in conventional warfare. The hallmark of terrorism, strictly defined, is that it recognises no limits on who can or cannot be killed. This kind of brutal devaluation of human life and lack of self-restraint can never be justified.

Wilkinson also omits a vital historical point. The use of terror as a weapon of psychological warfare has been a strategy of established governments as well as radical movements. Terrorism in the sense of the random murder of innocent people became the stock in trade of some far Left and neo-Nazi groupuscules, and of secessionist and nationalist movements, only *after* it had already featured in conventional war. The terror bombing of civilian populations during the second world war seriously damaged humanity's precarious accumulation of moral capital.

In the nuclear age this damage has been difficult to repair. The barbarities perpetrated by terrorist groups issue from the same mental universe as the defence of nation states by the threat of genocide. Tomorrow's nuclear terrorist will be the younger sibling of today's nuclear strategist.

Despite its flaws the book offers an informative survey of the types, trends, characteristics and causes of modern terrorist activity, and analyses the dilemmas in mounting an effective security response, whilst upholding civil rights and the rule of law. The author's hard line of no concessions to blackmail can be endlessly debated. But it is reassuring that he unequivocally rejects any idea of a 'world crusade against terrorism'. Retributive, deterrent or destabilising military strikes against 'maverick' states such as Libya and Iran not only violate national sovereignty and destroy innocent lives: they also risk converting the menace of state-sponsored terrorism into the far greater evil of full scale war.

David Purdy



Utopian Vision

Political Strikes: The State and Trade Unionism in Britain
Peter Hain
Viking/Penguin, 1986 £14.95, hbk.

The 1984-85 miners' strike gave fresh impetus to two critical debates within the British Left, one on the nature of the capitalist state and the other on the most effective strategy for contemporary trade unionism. Hain's book addresses both of these issues and is therefore extremely timely and important. The central (and the best) chapters in the book document both the growth of militancy, and police and judicial intervention in industrial disputes, from the early days of industrial capitalism to the turbulent years around world war one culminating in the general strike.

After the interregnum of depression and postwar boom, state intervention in disputes once again took on an increasingly repressive tone, expressed through the reactionary triumvirate of a centralised, para-military police, an anti-union judiciary and a reserve of strike-breaking troops. The purpose of these chapters is to drive home, often with graphic and telling detail, the perennial violence of class conflict

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REVIEWS

in Britain and the longstanding class partisanship of the British state.

The appalling violence inflicted on the miners (described in a particularly well-balanced chapter on the strike) when viewed in historical perspective appears as the end-product of many years of growing centralisation and independence amongst the repressive arms of the state.

How do these trends connect with trade union strategy and with the prospects for a more political trade unionism? This is where Hain's argument encounters a mighty contradiction. On the one hand he notes that British trade unions have rarely been moved to take action for purely political purposes. More often than not 'political strikes' have occurred either when industrial methods, such as collective bargaining, proved ineffective, or when employers and the state attacked trade union organisation and workers' living standards. Only under particular material and political circumstances, when their backs have been pressed against the wall with enough force, have trade unions been willing to engage in overtly political action.

On the other hand Hain's final chapter appeals for a 'new trade unionism', freed of all the usual vices (sectionalism, economism etc.) and linked in struggle with community groups and other social forces over a range of issues arising out of production, reproduction and consumption. This would be all very well if the previous nine chapters had provided any evidence that such new trade unionism had been maturing within the womb of the old male-dominated movement, or that 'old-fashioned' economism had exhausted its potential. But Hain appears not to believe the latter, and presents only scraps of evidence for the former. Indeed the utopianism of the final chapter is graphically illustrated by the suggestion that a new trade unionism requires the wholesale reorganisation of trade unions along industrial lines, a proposal almost as old as trade unionism itself.

If the utopianism of the concluding chapter sits uneasily with the rest of the book, it should not detract from this important study of the power and violence of the British state in its relations with trade unionism.

John Kelly

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Update

NEWS

Lesbian and Gay Pride Festival until July 6. A fortnight of over 300 events across the country, including marches, films, plays, conferences, discos, cabaret nights and even church services, culminating in the Pride '86 carnival parade which ends this year in Kennington Park with: The Communards, Frank Chickens, The Beverley Sisters, Sandy Shaw and more. For details tel: 01 482 2740 or 01 388 4819 or 01 359 5311.

Communist Party Library now has lists of pamphlets from 1920-1980 for sale, send large sae for 18p to Library, 16 St John St, London EC1M 4AL.

Race Against Apartheid *Marxism Today* is sponsoring a 10km/2 mile fun run to raise funds for the African National Congress's Freedom College. The race will take place in Finsbury Park, London on October 26 as part of Left Unlimited. Anyone interested in getting involved with the organising group, contact Mark Perryman 01 251 4406.

Emergency Appeal The NCCL is trying to raise £30,000 to avoid redundancies threatened by the recent House of Lords judgement preventing the GLC from giving transitional funding to voluntary organisations after its abolition. Donations: NCCL (Emergency Appeal), 21 Tabard St, London SE1.

First Out A lesbian and gay coffee shop at 52 St Giles High St, London W1. Due to open in early July. Contact Malcolm Comley or Lottie Pollak 01-968 7744.

Victimised Miners There are still 502 NUM members locked out by the NCB as a result of their activities during the strike. They still urgently need help and support. Contact NUM 0742 700388.

Socialist Feminism, Out of the Blue is the special summer edition of *Feminist Review*. Contents include a roundtable discussion on class politics with Michele Barrett, Beatrix Campbell, Anne Phillips, Angela Weir and Elizabeth Wilson. Costs £4.95.

Marxism Today is expanding its office merchandising and design team. This expansion requires volunteer staff. Expenses will be paid and volunteers will play a full and active part in every asect of the magazine. Phone or write to Business Manager, Jane Critchley, 16 St John St, London EC1, tel: 01 608 0265.

MEETINGS

Birmingham *Marxism Today* Discussion Group Sunday, July 13, 8pm at the Star Club, 25 Essex St. Fred Steward on Nuclear Power after Chernobyl. Tel 021 692 1765.

Common Pursuits *Marxism Today* presents a day of discussion on cultural politics beyond the GLC. Saturday July 12 at Riverside Studios, Crisp Road, London W6. Details from Martin Pople on 01 251 4406 x 139.

What is Aid? Day of workshops plus benefit. Saturday July 12 at University of London Union, 10am onwards, £2.50 (£1.50). Details: Third World First 01 986 4800.

CONFERENCES

Shelter Annual Housing Conference July 18-20, York University. Discussions include: homelessness after Puhlhofer; lessons from Latin America; building societies and rented housing; housing rights campaign; the Green Belt, privatising council estates and Milton Keynes. Details from: Tim Mars, Shelter, 157 Waterloo Road, London SE1. Tel 01 633 9377.

PUBLICATIONS

Local Work New bulletin of the Centre for Local Economic Strategies. The first issue will look at the range of economic initiatives by community groups as well as those implemented by local authorities. Available from CLES, Heron House, Brazennose St, Manchester M2 5HD.

Managing Local Socialism Fabian Society pamphlet examines the changes in local government administration, particularly the relationship between members and officers, and the alleged undemocratic practices of some leftwing labour-controlled authorities. Available from 11 Dartmouth St, London SW1H 9BN, £1.50 post free.

Local Economy is a new quarterly journal for policymakers and practitioners in local economic development, published by the London Economic Policy Unit. First issue includes articles by John Benington, Mike Best and others. Subscription rates: £17 individuals, £35 institutions. Obtainable from Dr Sam Aaronovitch, Editor, LEPU, Polytechnic of the South Bank, London Road, London SE1.

Star Wars Guide The July issue of *Science for People* tells all. Contributors include: Glyn Ford MEP, Gerard Holden, Jenny Leggatt, Felix Pirani, Phil Webber and Paul Walton. 80p (plus 25p p&p). Details: 01 607 9615.

Spain Against Fascism 1936-9 Our History by Nan Green and A M Elliot. £1. Details: History Group, 16 St John St, London EC1M 4AY.

VIDEOS

Sounds for Mandela Nelson Mandela's life and work told through poetry, music and his own words. All proceeds to the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign. Further information from Parallax Pictures 01 240 7789.

A Voice in Our Schools Equal opportunities video shows the contribution made in schools by governors and urges more parents to become involved as governors in their children's schools. Produced by the Inner London Education Authority. Details from ILEA press office. 01 633 1234.

The World Has a Way of Looking at People looks at historical and contemporary images of mental handicap and allows people to speak for themselves. £10 to hire, available from: Open Eye film, video and animation workshop, 90-92 Whitechapel, Liverpool, L16 EN.

Entries for the August Update should be sent to the office by July 11. For information: tel Diane Dixon on 01-965 7482 (evenings) or 608 0265 (day). Please try to ensure you state how accessible the venue is for people with disabilities.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Ruth Weiss is a freelance economic journalist specialising in Southern Africa.
Paul Webster was a *Sunday Times* journalist until the move to Wapping, and edits *Marxism Today*'s Close up section.
Joe Collier is a senior lecturer and honorary consultant in clinical pharmacology at St George's Hospital Medical School.
Sheena Phillips is CND's information officer.
Phil Leeson teaches development studies and was until recently a member of the Communist party's economic committee.
Stuart Hall is professor of sociology at the Open University and a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board.
Martin Jacques is the editor of *Marxism Today*.

For **women's committee** roundtable participants see p16.
Dan Smith is vice-chairperson of CND and an associate fellow of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam. His first novel *Father's Law* is published this month.
Robin Murray is a fellow of the Institute of Development Studies and was formerly director of industry at the GLC.
Manuel Azcarate was until 1981 a leading member of the Spanish Communist party. He joined the Young Communist League in 1934. He is now a journalist on the Spanish daily, *El Pais*.
Liz Wells is a freelance writer.
Roy Palmer has edited many anthologies of folk songs, the most recent is *The Oxford Book of Sea Songs* (1986). He is a member of the Labour party.
Steve Platt is a freelance journalist.
Kathy Myers is media editor of *City Limits* and the author of *Understates: The Sense and Seduction of Advertising* which is published this month.
Paddy Ashdown is a Liberal MP and a member of the Joint Commission on Defence and Disarmament.
Neville Pressley is a member of the Council for Social Democracy and of the CND national executive.
David Purdy is a lecturer in economics at Manchester University.
John Kelly is a lecturer in industrial relations at the London School of Economics and a member of the Communist party.
Nicci Gerrard is co-editor of *Women's Review*.

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CLOSE • UP
ON

Sarah Ferguson

Nicci Gerrard

BORN: London
AGE: 26
FAMILY: Father Ron Ferguson is a wealthy Hampshire landowner and first cousin to Princess Alice, the Duchess of Gloucester. Mother Susan Barrantes is the wife of a polo-playing Argentinian. With a good deal of industry, Fleet Street has traced Fergie's roots back to Charles II.
EDUCATION: Danes Lodge School, Basingstoke and then Hurst Lodge, Sunningdale, where she was head girl.
PROGRESS: Usually described as 'undistinguished'.
OCCUPATION: 'Directrice' of a West End graphic design company.
INTERESTS: The outdoor life (in good Sloane Ranger fashion).

A lot of trees have been cut down for Sarah Ferguson. I now know, because hundreds of 'exclusives' and even 'revelations' have told me, that she has a Sloane Ranger background, is a good friend of Princess Diana's, that she drinks her coffee black without sugar, drives a blue BMW, giggled in her secretarial classes and is (probably) a size 14.

I know that she is a woman of 'lively charm and maturity', has 'good sense and industry' and has a 'natural beauty' although the American fashion experts call her 'frumpy'. I also know that she has an Argentinian step-father (albeit a *polo-playing* one), a 'past' and a responsible job which she intends to keep.

This makes her a good deal more interesting than Diana Spencer was on her engagement to Prince Charles. Then 19, chubbily and ordinarily attractive, mutely and clumsily innocent, she captivated the country precisely *because she was a blank page.*

Princess Di became a fairy tale princess in the way that Sarah Ferguson will never be because she could be transformed from 'nothing' (virgin, unblemished, untried, without a style or even a voice of her own) into 'everything' (glamorous woman, size eight figurehead of British fashion, devoted wife, loving mother, *future queen . . .*). Thousands of women see in her the possibility of miraculous metamorphosis.

Sarah Ferguson has altogether more possession of herself. She will not so easily become the object of fantasy. At the age of 26 she has been earning her own living for nearly 10 years.

The press aren't quite sure what being a 'directrice' means or who she actually works for – some call it a graphic design firm, others a publisher, and the *Daily Express* ('*the only newspaper to cut* through the rumours and come up with the *facts*') manages to call it both in the same column. But the one interesting *'fact'* is that she plans to carry on working.

It is not a resounding breakthrough, but the fact that the prospective Princess Andrew has torn the cocoon of royal procedure and refused to be typecast in the sumptuous House of Windsor soap opera could be important. The royal institution *has come to depend more on the* extraordinary than the ordinary – probably destructive for the individuals concerned, and harmful for a public glutted on soap opera glamour and drama.

Sarah Ferguson is also a woman with a 'past'. But what is this past but a little (not much) experience? At 26 she has had two serious boyfriends, Kim Bingham-Smith, an old Etonian ski-clothes businessman, and Paddy McNally, *22 years older than her and with* two teenage sons. If she had had none she probably would have considered herself a failure.

While the Palace remains terrified of scandalous revelations (and was certainly embarrassed by Andrew's indiscreet adventures, conducted in a blaze of publicity), we should rightly fear *in*experience. Fergie's past is simply a sign of normality and seems to have given her a *handsome and good-natured* resilience. The public expects their princesses to be ordinary and extraordinary; she seems to enjoy being simply ordinary – as far, that is, as the Sloane Ranger daughter of a rich landowner who had a nanny and who played with royalty as a child can be.

The pressures to change are on: surrounded by an often sycophantic press, scrutinised and criticised by the fashion world, told that she needs to lose weight, *the butt of cruel jokes ('the* ground shakes when she walks' etc,) or flattery, it will be harder for her than for most of us to retain control over her own life.

The reason why feminists find Princess Diana's career, her shifting image, her clothes and her possible anorexia fascinating is that she has become a mirror for the deforming ideals of perfect femininity. She is an unreal figure from which individual life has leaked, enabling her to become the beautiful empty receptacle of cultural pressures on women.

And the reason that feminists will find Sarah Ferguson's progress as Princess Andrew significant is that at present she seems to be resisting such loss of selfhood. She doesn't (yet) belong to the fairy tale, and she is not for public consumption. Nevertheless, I intend to be out of the country on July 23 and when I return the World Cup, Wimbledon and the *Royal Wedding will all be over.* But I suppose there is still Prince Edward . . .

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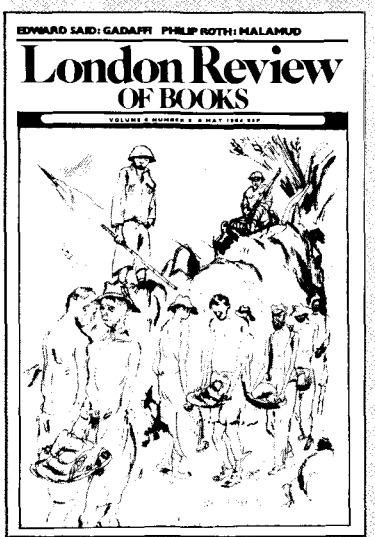

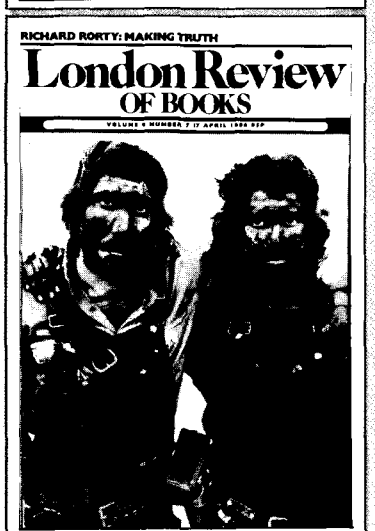

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